

CHURCH & POLITICAL UPHEAVAL
IN MIZORAM

John Namlal Hluna

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(A Study of Impact of Christianity on the
Political Development in Mizoram)

JOHN VANLAL HLUNA

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Foreword

Christianity has played a very significant role in social modernisation of the north-eastern region of India ever since it was exposed to British colonialism. But the position of the Church in the social tension that has been confronting the region over the past decades is a subject of considerable controversy. While a few feel that the missionaries have had a hand in the recent turmoils in Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura and other places, there are others who refuse to accept such views in the absence of definite evidences. It is essential that the scholars should undertake indepth research in this socially relevent question and clarify the position in public interest.

J.V. Hluna's **Church and Political Upheaval in Mizoram** is a study of the impact of Christianity on the political development in Mizoram. It traces the history of Christianity in Mizoram and examines its contributions in educational development and growth of public consciousness in the Mizo society, the identification of the linkage between the progress of Christianity and the politicisation of the community being the most significant contribution of the book.

The author has honoured me by asking to go through his typed manuscript and to write a foreword. I am convinced that the publication shall be of immense social and academic value. This is a pioneering work and like any such work, there is

scope for improvement. Several eye-brows are bound to be raised over some of the contentions and presentation of revealing facts. But the author has done these like a religious historian who never fails to authenticate his facts by appropriate citation and reproduction. Hluna has reproduced rather longish documents in appendices which contain huge information on the contemporary history of Mizoram and shall be helpful for further research in the subject.

J.B. Bhattacharjee

Professor & Head
Dept. of History, NEHU

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In writing this book I am indebted to several Church leaders in Mizoram from whom and from whose works I collected a great deal of materials. I am no less grateful to the authorities of Assam Secretariat Record Room, Shillong; National Archives, New Delhi; D.C's Record Office, Aizawl; Aizawl Theological College Library and Mr.C. Lianzama, State Librarian, Mizoram State Library, Aizawl for their kind co-operation and assistance in meeting my demands.

I am also indebted to those authors whose works I consulted as mentioned in the Bibliography and made use of even though I am not entirely in agreement with their views.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to many of my friends who were at one time or the other in active service in the MNF movement, for their unfailing courtesy and kindness in supplying me all the materials available with them.

I cannot but acknowledge the assistance I received throughout my work from my friend, Mr. Lalzuitluanga, B.A. Hons. (NEHU), B.D. (Serampore), M.A. Theology (Princeton, USA), and financial assistance I received for the publication of this book from Pu Hmingthanga, Class I Contractor, Electric Veng, Aizawl.

I want to extend my acknowledgement with deep gratitude to Dr. J.B. Bhattacharjee, Professor and Head, Department of History, NEHU, Shillong, for his inspiring 'Foreword' and encouragement I received from him to do a research work.

Last but not the least my thanks goes to the printer, Synod Press and designer of this cover, Dr. C. Biakmawia, Medical Officer of the Synod Hospital, Durtlang, only through their co-operation this book has come out.

Mission Veng,
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30th. April, 1985.

John Vanlal Hluna

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CHAPTER I

A GLIMPSE OF THE PAST SOCIETY

Mizoram is situated in the north-eastern corner of India between Burma, Bangladesh and, Cachar, Manipur of Indian States. It was formerly known as the home of the head-hunting Lushais. Long and precipitous ranges of hills, mostly running north and south, fill up the whole area, and occasionally a peak, rising to a height of 6,000 ft, may be seen towering above the lower hills. Before we read the following chapters, it will be important to know about their early society and their history so that readers may be able to give more interest and have a better understanding of the present history.

The Mizos, as mentioned above, were known as Lushais, and when we discuss about their early history I think, the term 'Lushai' will be more suitable to use whereas the term 'Mizo' is used in the main book.

For many generations the Lushais had their abode in their wild region, living on like real children of Nature. The early history of the people was a history of bloodshed and of internecine war. Every man, as soon as he could understand, became fired with the ambition to obtain human skulls – whether to display as marks of heroism before his less courageous comrades, or to use as decorations on his tomb.

Not content with their tribal warfare, these people launched out on the plains, and, when opportunity afforded, seized upon unoffending coolies in the Assam tea gardens, murdered them and carried off their heads as trophies of their prowess. Thus they became a terror to the whole region. Not content with this, they even sometimes attacked the bungalows of the planters themselves due to the fact that those planters encroached their hunting grounds which they regarded as their own land. By a treacherous attack they once murdered an Englishman and carried off his daughter alive into their own jungle. This dastardly outrage had to be promptly avenged, and an expedition was sent into their territories to punish the perpetrators and to rescue the girl. Since this incident, which happened in January 23, 1871, the British Government has had a continuous connection with the Lushai land.

Every village was ruled by a Chief. The Chief had absolute control over his village, yet his mode of life and his dress differed in no way from the common people. The only difference was that he did not do manual works, and sometimes allowed the nails on his left hand to grow to an inordinate length in order to demonstrate this. Each family had to contribute a certain amount of rice every year towards the support of the chief, and a portion of every animal taken in the hunters or trappers chase was his right. In return for all this he gave his care and attention to the interest of his subjects. The *Val Upa* (the Elders) of the village, presided over by

a kind of Prime Minister, were consulted. When any important matter was to be discussed, the *Tlangals* (village herald) walked around the village and, with a loud voice, informed the people of the will of their Sovereign.

The Chief's wealth consisted of cornelian beads, and a few necklaces handed down to him from time immemorial, or taken as plunder in their civil wars. He also possessed a number of bisons, and on the anniversary of some great event he killed one of these animals and gave a feast to his subjects. On such occasions, the invited guests sat around a large earthen pot filled with beer brewed from rice, and one member of the company dipped in a horn and passed it round until all have drunk. This went on for three or four days. All of them sang the while a most mournful dirge, until they either became too intoxicated to take any more, or else nature gave way and they all succumbed to sleep.

Zawlbuk (the bachelors' quarters) was a square building with an untidy grass roof and always situated just below the chief's house. *Pum* (the village smith) was also usually situated in the centre of the principal street, half-way up the hill. The blacksmith, with very primitive tools, made out spears, choppers, hoes, and other implements. All the villagers paid him a certain quantity of rice every year for his support, and thus he became a public servant and gave his services willingly to anyone.

The Mizos have high cheek-bones and slightly almond-shaped eyes, and belong to the Mongoloid race. In early days, both men and women, wore a long cloth about 2 metres by 1 1/2 metres woven by the women. Men and women parted their hair in the middle, and tied it in a knot at the back of their heads, fastened it with massive brass and bone pins.

A man's ornaments consisted of a barrel-shaped corallian, tied by a piece of string through a hole in the lobe of the ear; a few rows of turquoise beads round his neck, and sometimes a ring of iron or other metal on his finger. The appendage from his throat was made from the tail of a goat, which had been sacrificed by him, and was worn as a charm to ward off sickness and protect him from evil spirits. His *Valbel* (smoking pipe) was made entirely of bamboo.

Underneath her loose covering a woman wore a short petticoat of blue cotton of special design called *Hmar-am*. Her earrings were made of discs of ivory, as large as a napkin ring, placed in a hole in the lobe of her ear, which had gradually been extended from her infancy until it had become large enough to receive the final ornament. Her pipe called *Tutbur* was a marvel of ingenuity. The bowl was made of clay and turned towards the face, so that she may see when it wants replenishing, or required poking with the iron pin which was suspended from the stem. The lower part of the pipe was made of bamboo, elaborately carved, and was used as a

receptacle for water, in which the smoke was purified before it reached the mouth. As soon as this water became impregnated with nicotine it was carefully collected by the husband in a small gourd, and sipped as *bonne-bouche*, or offered to friends as a mark of hospitality. The wife was constantly busy getting wood and water, or cooking the food, and doing other household duties, while the husband was always looking after his cultivation.

The women neglected their appearance, and by no means were a type of beauty. None of them were remarkable for their cleanliness – either the children or adults. As a rule, a baby was not washed after its birth until it was about three years old, and a middle-aged person after forty often bid goodbye to water for the remaining years of his life, which under such a regime was not very long. The old woman was smoking the indispensable pipe (*Tuibur*), and when the baby grows uneasy she thrusts it into its mouth, and after a whiff or two it became restful and happy. The child was supported on the hip of the mother, and enjoyed a comfortable position at all times.

As soon as a boy was able to walk he began to climb trees, and can stand in the most perilous situations without showing the least signs of fear. They were all fond of *Inkawi-hnawk* – a game played by throwing a large bean from different parts of the body, and causing it to knock over that of the opponent which was placed on its end upon the ground. At a certain season of the year, when the white ants

took to themselves wings, a band of children may often be seen sitting round the hole from which the insects escape, and feeding upon them with great zest and relish. Grasshoppers and raw young rats did not even come amiss to some of the youngsters when they were hungry.

The Lushais constructed *Leikapui* (platforms) outside their houses. These *Leikapui* were the favourite places of resort of the whole family. In the chilly winter mornings they sat here and enjoyed the warmth of the sun, and in the summer evenings they equally enjoyed the cool breezes. Sometimes a kind of screen will be rigged up, and beneath its shade the daughter of the house will sit weaving or stitching, while her sweetheart beguiled her by telling stories.

Zawlbuk as mentioned earlier, was erected in every Lushai village. These buildings were for the use of the young unmarried men of the community. When a youth reached the age of fifteen he was no longer allowed to sleep at night in his father's house, but shared with the other young men of the village in the *Zawlbuk*, which like all other Lushai houses, was built on piles, and was of great size. It was constructed of bamboo and wood, and was thatched with grass. The bamboo mat wall in the front of the building came to within 1 1/2 metres or so of the ground, and it was through this long, low aperture, by carefully lowering the head, that entrance had to be effected. Immediately inside, a barrier called *Bawhba* about 1 1/2 metres high, intended to keep

out pigs and goats, runs from side to side across the entrance, and this has to be vaulted before one was really inside. In the centre was a clay hearth, where every evening in winter a huge fire was lit. At the farther end the floor was slightly raised, and formed a kind of dais, upon which as well as on the floor round the fire, reclined some 200 or more young men. Some sang, others related thrilling stories of their ancestors, which everyone present knew by heart and yet never grew tired of hearing it repeated.

Strangers from other villages, if they have no friend with whom to stay, were welcome to these bachelors' clubs, and had always some news to tell in which all were interested. When the first Christian Pioneer Missionaries, Rev. F.W. Savidge and Rev. J.H. Lorrain, visited a village, the Chief usually put *Zawlbuk* at their disposal, and as a mark of respect, the young men would sleep at their homes as long as the Missionaries occupied it.

In every village there were one or two exorcists who were supposed to be versed in the art of driving out evil spirits. Sickness and pain of every description were therefore ascribed to these unseen beings, and whenever a man fell ill he naturally desired to appease the anger of his supposed oppressor, and called in the exorcist. When the latter arrived he leaned over the prostrate figure, felt the pulse, and, with a very wise look on his face, declared that a fowl, dog, goat, or pig must be sacrificed to drive out the demon. The prescribed

animal was soon procured, and the exorcist, accompanied by a friend or two, took it outside the village, and, under the shade of a spreading tree, blew a conch-shell, muttered diverse incantations, and sacrificed the victim.

Meanwhile his friends busied themselves in kindling a fire close by and to boil a pot of water. The heart, blood, and other uneatable parts of the sacrifice were deposited on a tiny bamboo altar for the demons to devour, the animal was pulled to pieces and boiled in the pot. When it was ready, the exorcist and his friends sat around the fire to enjoy the feast, and when they had sufficient, a piece, which had been preserved for the purpose, was taken to the sick person to eat.

In bad cases this generally proved to be the last straw, and the patient rapidly grew worse and succumbed under the treatment.

To the memory of the departed chief, the Lushai erected a memorial platform outside the village close to the path, and offered a very pleasant seat to tired travellers. The posts were adorned with the skulls of the animals killed by him when alive, or sacrificed by his friends at his funeral.

No one was poor and no one was rich. Each family lived on its own products. Theft was seldom committed and was almost unheard of and as such lock and key was unknown. A firewood stick placed to obstruct the gliding door was sufficient to keep anyone away from entering the house.

Such was life as they saw it when the British came to administer the land in 1891 and the Pioneer Christian Missionaries in 1894. The land was named Lushai Hills and annexed as a district of Assam but looked after by a special political agent called Superintendent, a direct representative of the Governor-General of British India. This meant that the Lushai Hills was not brought under the political jurisdiction of the Assam Legislature and thus categorised as "Excluded Area."

The British did very little developmental works. Their main concern was maintainance of law and order. By and large, education was chiefly run by the Missionaries both in the North and South Lushai Hills. They (the Lushais) lived as a society of good neighbours, in a land of pure simplicity. The growing church soon dominated and transformed the Mizo Society.

With the political awakening in 1946, the people themselves formed into political parties with the initial objectives of asserting their individual rights and privileges which necessarily entailed removal of all that was British or British creation including chieftship and innumerable taxations from which they got no return. These objectives, after much suffering and sacrifice were achieved soon after Independence with the birth of an Autonomous District Council in 1952 under the over-all guardianship of the Government of Assam. The District Council had, nevertheless enjoyed the power of a provincial government relating to the provisions of Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.

The District Council felt that the guardian government of Assam did not pay adequate assistance and was all the time hesitant in its dealings. Then as predicted five years earlier the bamboos flowered in 1959 followed by sudden and enormous rise in rat population. A phenomenon resulting in an overnight devastation of the harvest of 1959 completely. The Government of India in general, and the guardian Government of Assam in particular was caught unaware and the district became hungerstricken in 1960. Only after all the edibles of the jungle were exhausted did financial and food aid come from the Government. And this was also to be earned as wages. As the people could not both earn wages and work in their jhums at the same time, the cultivation again suffered in the following year. From this time onwards, Mizoram never recovered from insufficiency of food production.

The *Mizo National Front* (MNF) took its birth from this famine of 1960. It preached Sovereign independence from India. Arms were collected from outside while the government looked on. Suddenly insurgency erupted in March 1st 1966 and the MNF captured several military outposts including Lunglei, Champhai and Khawzawl. Before Aizawl could be captured six Indian Air Force Jet Fighters attacked Aizawl and then the Army moved in resulting in the burning of the town from air and ground shelling. The civil population were in constant danger from both the army and the insurgents. Survival was uncertain for everybody. Several lives and properties were lost. The Church then stepped forward in the

midst of troubled waters contacting both the Government and the MNF leaders to bring peace and normalcy in Mizoram. While the Church leaders sincerely started their work to bring understanding, the Government then suddenly in early January 1967 ordered grouping of villages without even consulting the District Council. Much tears were shed over the burning of villages. Life in their new homes was hard and food was scarce and many died of malnutrition. In fact, they did not live life, they only existed. Even the services of the Church leaders to bring the MNF leaders and the Government together thus failed. The following chapters are the study of the development of Christianity and politics including insurgency in Mizoram.

As years went by, there came the offer of a new status called Union Territory. This question was much debated by the Mizo political leaders. Ultimately, the ruling Congress-Mizo Union alliance (UMPP) in the District Council accepted the offer and the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, who had been the Prime Minister of India even in those dark years of Mizoram right from the beginning of the outbreak, personally inaugurated the new political status on 21st January, 1972, the same day that she inaugurated the full-fledged State for Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura. The status of Union Territory was not the much desired "Peace" and it never subsided the insurgency problem in Mizoram.

In dealing with the development of the Church and its impact on politics in Mizoram my intention

is to find out the truth, only the whole truth. Therefore all the important items of this book are based on facts supported by documents quoted in the footnotes. And it is the researchers interest to collect all those valuable materials in their field of research with the permission of the concerned authority.

The Appendices, some of which are quoted in the main chapters in part, are put in full Texts at the end of this book since they have great historical value for Mizoram.

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY IN MIZORAM

In Mizoram the Christian Church played a vital role, perhaps acting as the most important cultural conduct, not merely through a virtually local conversion of the local populace, but also through the subtler but equally significant consequence that flowed from this large scale proselytization. This book therefore will focus its attention on the growth of the Church and the role it played in bringing about social change which further brought political awareness.

While the new Christians were few, they used to gather for worship in homes, but as they grew in numbers they had to have their own meeting places. Thus, the Missionaries erected a building which they used as School class room by day and as meeting house by night. Similar buildings were soon constructed wherever four or five families became Christians. The Christians converted by the Welsh Presbyterians were organised into one unit

with headquarters at Aizawl and those converted by the London Baptists had their headquarters at Lung-
lei. The goal which the pioneers set before them-
selves and their fellow-workers was the establishment
of a truly Mizo Church ¹. They determined that
the Church should be made self-supporting right
from the beginning. Lorrain had written to the
Baptist Missionary Society 'It will be our endeavour
to make the Christian Church in South Lushai self-
supporting and self-propagating from the first' ².
This policy was endorsed by the missions as a whole.
Thus, the early Christians were taught to build
their own Church and not to expect financial help
from the Missionaries or other friends. Every mem-
ber was taught to give or contribute a portion of
his products to support the Church and its cause.
This was the Christian principle, emphasised by the
Missionaries. Thus many Christians started giving
certain amount of their products to the Church.
The response of the Christians towards giving was
tremendous and the converts gave willingly their little
substance to the Church. In the word of a Mis-
sionary, 'Their God's rice is stored in an immense
dais on the platform of the Chapel' ³. So it be-
came the Christian practice to put aside certain
amount of rice, crops etc, as a tithe for God and the

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1. Marjorie Sykes (ed) **Mizo Miracle**, Christian Literature Society, Madras, (1968) p.85.
 2. Chirgwin A.M., (ed) **Arthington Million** (1933) p.83 quoted by C.L. Hminga in his D. Miss Thesis, on to "The life and witness of the Church in Mizoram" Fuller Theological Seminary, U.S.A. 1976.

Church, which was called 'Pathian Ram' (God's Kingdom). They were meant for spreading the Christian message as the funds thus raised through these gifts were used. Herbert Anderson, Indian Secretary, Baptist Missionary Society, Calcutta has written in his report of visit that 1/10th of the crops or earning is set aside for God's work. There are no collections at any service, neither are subscriptions solicited. Everything is a free will offering ⁴. The rapid growth of the Church depended very much on the Missions 'policy' and its implication, and also on the responses made by the Mizo people ⁵. The following table may indicate the growth of Christian population and its progress from 1901 ⁶.

Table showing the growth of Christian population

Year	Population	Non-Christian population	Christian community	Percentage in total population	No of literates	Percentage of literates.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1901	82,434	82,389	45	0.05	771	0.93
1911	91,204	88,743	2,461	2.77	3,635	4.41
1921	98,406	70,686	27,720	28.17	6,183	6.28
1931	1,24,404	65,281	59,123	47.52	13,320	10.54
1941	1,52,786	54,678	98,108	64.21	29,765	19.50
1951	1,96,202	38,627	1,57,575	80.31	61,093	31.13
1961	2,66,063	35,554	2,30,509	86.64	1,17,094	44.00
1971	3,32,390	46,249	2,86,141	86.09	1,78,793	53.79
1981	4,87,774	*	*	*	2,90,225.53	59.50

* Not available.

3. Chirgwin - op. cit. p.83.

4. Anderson, Herbert - 'Report of visit to the South Lushai Missions' 1913 p.8.

5. District Gazetteer - Part II table III, supplement to the volume X p.8 edited in 1915.

6. Government Census Report 1901 to 1981.

Christianity has not made much progress from 1894 till the 1920s and in 1901 there were only 45 people who professed the faith in Mizo Hills whereas from the 1930s there was a rapid growth towards the faith. This rapid growth (apart from the work of the Holy Spirit) was greatly due to full participation of laymen – very ordinary men and women. Every new convert felt the impelling necessity to speak about his new found religion to his friends and relatives ⁷. Lloyd had also mentioned that 'every Christian is an evangelist' ⁸.

In most cases it was the young who came first to Christ, and the elders who formed the caucus of opposition. The youths were organised mostly by Rev. Jones, when they went out to preach. He taught them, trained them, took them with him on his journeys and when he was confident that they could be relied on, he sent them on their own to preach. Those preachers were very cautious in their attempt to draw and attract the attention of the people. They never changed their dress from the dress of the people. They ate and slept wherever they were invited and helped in the daily work just like every other Lushai.

There always was hostility towards them and, after the revival began in 1906, this hostility grew very bitter. Sometimes the youthful preachers were

7. Zairema, *God's Miracle in Mizoram* Synod Press and Bookroom, Aizawl (1978) p. 12.

8. Lloyd, J.M., *On Every High Hill*, Liverpool, 1955, p. 32,33.

challenged by a village "tough" (as Lushais used to challenge visitors) to a bout of wrestling. Sometimes men used to try to compel them to drink Zu (Lushai Beer). Lloyd said that this happened even to Mr. Jones himself. A bamboo cup full of Zu was pushed in his face and almost down his throat ⁹. This bitterness was followed by persecution. It was done in several ways.

If a christian died the other villagers would refuse to bury him (this is a recognised Lushai obligation). At other times, some christian families after having cleared and prepared their rice-fields had the fields forcibly taken from them. Christians were often forced to work on Sundays or punished for not helping to make beer for a village feast. If the chief wanted chickens for some special entertainment he took mostly from the Christians. This was a very common occurrence and in fact, the majority of the chiefs made great exertions to stop the rising tide of christianity. The most traduced chief for this was Mr. Vânpunga Sailo, Chief of Khandaih, a village of a thousand houses. He expelled those converts from his village under the torrential rain of midnight ¹⁰. But this place of persecution was rapidly changed into the centre of revival. By God's miracle, Vânpunga himself was converted and his

9. Ibid.

10. Hluna, J.V., *Chanchia Tha chu ka zahpui silova*, Drama basing on a true story—published in Cyclostyle Form by the Shillong Mizo Church Youth Fellowship, 1970.

village became the first place where Missionaries established Mission School in Mizoram villages. Khandaih (its present name being Phullen) School was the second Mission School in Mizoram next to Boys' School, Aizawl. The first teacher, Hranga was a good preacher and converted almost the whole people into christians during his service. Therefore, Khandaih became the centre of revivals. The spirit of Khandaih revival spread throughout the land because God used those banished from Khandaih as his missionaries wherever they went and helped to bring the revivals of 1913, 1919 and 1935 in the land.

Therefore, the rapid proselytisation was remarked by Lloyd that hardly anywhere in the whole of the vast continent of Asia has the Gospel been spread more rapidly and more effectively ¹¹. While in the census of 1909 there were only 45 (forty five) christians in Mizoram, the 1941 census recorded more than 50 percent as christians and the christian population increased by about 81% during 1941—1951. At the same time the British administration was imposed throughout the hills effectively. Downs attributed that this rapid change brought about a radical change, a threat to the traditional way of life ¹². Even after India's independence, the situation is still more difficult. Downs quoted from M.N. Srinivas and R.D. Sanwal that "the existence of a

11. Lloyd, J.M: *Op. cit.* p. 32.

12. Downs, Frederick S., *Christianity in North East India*, Indian Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Delhi, 1983, pp. 14, 15.

large number of culturally as well as ethnically different tribes, and the keen interest shown by our hostile neighbours in creating tensions in the border regions in India, have all contributed to impart cruciality to an otherwise normal process of nation-building in North Eastern Hill Areas (NEHA).

The so-called 'separatist' tendencies amongst some of the NEHA tribes were initially only natural attempts on their part to define their socio-cultural identity vis-a-vis the others in the new circumstances of Independence ¹³.

Though the new Government maintained the policy of "Scheduling", giving special treatment to certain castes and tribes including the Mizos, and providing for a special type of Government i.e. Autonomous District Council, through the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, the fact remained that it brought in much more active administration than had been the case under the British. Though the objective of the new approach was to develop hitherto backward areas and bring them the benefits of modern education and technology without doing violence to their traditional ways, the efforts to bring the Mizos and other hillsmen within the so-called "Main-stream of National life" stirred up fears and hostility. Led by the new elite that was becoming increasingly more sophisticated politically, they were agitated for special recognition. While some leaders go up to the extent of rebellion for sovereign

13. *Ibid.* p. 45.

national status, most of the political leaders sought some kind of special status within the Indian Union and adopted non-violent political methods for achieving their ends.

Downs, a renowned Theologian, agreed that a unique feature of the political developments in Mizoram and other hill areas of the North East is the prominent role played by Christians. The politically active Mizo elites are all Christians and hence in Mizoram Christians played a leading role in political developments of all kinds. Whilst the leaders of the Great Rising of 1966 were all Christians the peace movements have been initiated by the churches, and the people who reject the separation of the rebels are also Christians ¹⁴.

The identification of christianity with political activity in Mizoram and other hill areas has had both positive and negative effects. Positively it has contributed to the development of strong, self-confident and self-sufficient Christian communities. For better or for worse, Christianity has become the "established" religion in Mizoram. Negatively the Christian involvement in the rebellion or revolution has reinforced the suspicion of the Indian public in general that Christians at least in the region are anti-national in the larger sense of Indian Nationalism. As a result Missionaries have gradually been removed from the region, and the whole Mizoram is classified as a Restricted Area.

1. *Ibid.* p. 47, 48.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH IN THE NORTH

In accordance with the resolution of the Welsh Presbyterian Church General Assembly of 1897, the Rev. David Evan Jones proceeded to Lushai a few weeks after the meeting of the Assembly to continue the Missionary operations begun by Messrs Lorrain and Savidge. "Sailing from Liverpool on the 25th of June, he arrived in Calcutta on the 25th July. From Silchar he was accompanied by Dr. T.J. Jones, together with Khasi Evangelist, Rai Bhajur and his wife, who had come from Khasia to take part with him in the works. After a journey of 19 days from Silchar, they reached Aijal on the 30th of August 1897" ¹. When they reached Aizawl they were heartily welcomed by Messrs Lorrain and Savidge, who remained in Lushai Hills as Arthington Aborigin Mission until the end of 1897 and rendered much valuable help to Mr. Jones. The Rev. Edwin Rowlands was sent out to assist him who reached Aizawl by 31st December, 1897 ².

The first two Missionaries, D.E. Jones and Edwin Rowlands had a tremendous task of evangelization before them. D.E. Jones in his first year's report said, "The first difficulty which the Lushai raises against accepting Christianity is the

1. Presbyterian Church of Wales, *The Report of the Foreign Mission*, Liverpool, 1897.

2. *Ibid.*

danger that he will be killed by the Evil Spirits, and when it is said that the Christians do not become the preys of the Evil Spirits, they say in answer that our religion does for use and theirs for them. Yet some are ready to believe in Christ if they will be kept from illness in so doing. The Lushais are fond of hearing that Jesus Christ has conquered the Devil and Death. Perhaps it is the truth of the Resurrection that strikes them most at first and often people came to ask us to tell them about Jesus. They show a readiness to receive the good tidings, and to believe in Jesus, but it is feared that they have not yet realized what it means" ³.

They had to cover miles after miles as they were in-charge of the whole Lushai Hills. But they were zealous workers and their sacrifices were great blessings to the Mizos. Jones reported that 'Mr. Rowlands, Babu Rai Bhajur and myself have visited altogether nearly one-third of the whole of the villages, but we could not stay in most of them for more than one night'. The Missionaries were usually well received, and some of the people supply them rice, wood and water, whilst others bring vegetables or eggs, if no money was at hand, in payment for medicine ⁴.

When Jones was married in 1903, his wife assisted him in many ways as she was a gifted woman. She started women's meeting at the Mi-

3. Jones, Rev. D.E., Report of 1898.

4. *Ibid.* 1899.

ssion Station and was said to be the first who taught the Mizo women knitting, sewing, hygiene and simple midwifery. Rowlands was a man of music and he composed many Mizo hymns to be used for worship. Besides he looked after the Mission School. The Missicnaries were greatly helped by the Mizo converts, who became the first evangelists among them. These were *Phaisama*, *Dokhama* and *Vanchhunga* and they were sent out as evangelists in 1904 ⁵. They were paid little salary of Rs. 3/— per month yet they were very keen in their work and they travelled many villages for the faith. Dr. Fraser, M.D. who came to the Mizo Hills in 1908 was known and remembered for his great love for the poor and destitutes. He supported over hundred destitutes and gave freedom to over fifty slaves by paying ransom for them ⁶. Gradually other Missionaries joined them, some were endowed with certain gifts and they had a great influence for the growth of the Church. One important factor which has helped in the rapid growth of the Church was the spread of revivals occasionally in the land in 1906, 1913, 1919 and in 1935. The first revival occurred in the land as a result of the famous Welsh revival which swept the country in 1904. It landed in the Khasi Hills in 1905. Many became Christians and it was reported that about 5,000 people embraced Christianity. This

5. Liangkhaia, Rev., *Mizo Chanchin Bu*, p. 134.

6. Fraser, Dr. P., *Slavery on British Territory*, Assam and Burma, Carnarvan, 1913, Recorded.

had created a deep desire and hunger for the same experience among the Mizos. Thus, the few Christians and the Missionary decided to go and share the revival. Therefore in February 1906, Edwin Rowlands and some Mizo Christians of the North and South Mizo Hills went to the Khasi Hills. They were *Chawnga*, *Khumia*, *Thanga*, *Pawngi*, *Thangkungi*, *Vanchhunga*, *Siniboni* from Aizawl and *Thankunga*, *Parima* and *Zuthanga* from Lunglei ⁷.

Zairema reported that after walking on foot for fifteen days they came back disappointed ⁸. As they were approaching Aizawl, they had a prayer together at Chaltlang, about two miles away from Aizawl. Suddenly they were empowered with the Spirit and they began to be filled with joy and prayed with tears. It was on 4th April 1906. This was the first revival that the Mizos had experienced and the main result was the conviction of one's own sin and public confessions. It was a slow process altogether. As the Christians were yet very few, it was not widely spread. However, it added to the number of the Church. The second revival occurred in 1913 and this had emphasised on the second coming of Christ and babies born in this period got the name such as *Tawkruaia* etc. ⁹ A great excitement found expression in dancing everywhere, in the church and at home.

7. Liangkhaia, Rev., *Op.cit.* p. 134

8. Zairema, *Op.cit.* p. 5

9. Saiaithanga, *Mizo Kohbran Chanchin* (1969) p.46
Tawkruaia means a man about to meet God

Zairema mentioned that the Mizos, who were by nature fond of singing and dancing composed many songs and were tuned easy to learn¹⁰. Thus the revival wave soon covered the whole Mizoram and it lasted for about two years. Inspite of many fall after that, there were many more evangelists and teachers and improved the church growth eventually. The famine that broke out in the land in 1910, due to the * Mautam ¹¹ was all indirect help for the growth of the church. The Government stocked food supply at two centres of which people in need were to purchase them on loan. People came from distant villages and camps set up for them became the centres of exchanging new faith. Even the persecution was a blessing in disguise. Persecution made the early Christians grow in mutual love and concern for one another. Their long-suffering and loving practice inspired the non-Christian people gradually to embrace Christianity. The first Mizo Minister, *Chhuahkhama*, was ordained as Pastor in 1913 after his theological training at Cherrapunjee in Khasi Hills. The first Church established was at Mission Veng in 1913. D.E. Jones opened a training centre for evangelists in 1908 and *Thangkhuma*, *Hauchhunga*, *Rosema*, *Taitea* and *Deng-ruma* were the first to be trained. They were able

10. Zairema, *Op.cit* P.7

* Mautam - Every fifty years cycle, the bamboo in much the area flowered and produced fruits which is relished by the rats. The rats thus eat away all the crops.

11. Zairema - *Op.cit*, p.7

to go out as an Evangelist in 1909. Thus, the northern Mizoram had 6 Evangelists who toured round the villages and gradually people from every village responded to the faith. Liangkhaia wrote that by 1912 there were a number of Churches and touring for the Evangelists was becoming easier¹². The first Presbytery meeting was held in 1910 and here, the first three Church elders of Mizoram were elected. They were *R. Dala*, *Rosema* and *Darchhinga*¹³. Ever since; the Presbytery is held every year. The third revival which occurred on 26th July, 1919 simultaneously both in the north and in the south soon covered not only the whole region of the land, but also the Mizos in Tripura and Manipur. This was the greatest revival which had ever occurred in the land. The central theme of the revival was the *Cross of Christ* which has great effect on the lives and ideology of the Christians. It lasted for about four years and within these years Saiaithanga reported that 1919 people embraced the faith even exceeding the Christians who numbered 1,495 in the north. During this time, the use of Drum which was a tradition practice while dancing was made in use again not for worldly pleasure but to praise God. It became the practice of almost all the Church to-day. It developed from dancing and weeping to trembling and falling into trance. Mr. E. Lewis Mendus, a Welsh Presbyterian Church Missionary working among the Mizos wrote his eye-witness

12. Liangkhaia - *op. cit.* p. 138.

13. Liangkhaia - *op. cit.* p. 137.



about the revival in his Diary like this, "Benches were removed in order to provide room for those who were dancing, whilst others around me trembled with emotion and swooned away into an unconscious or semi-conscious state which sometimes takes the form of trance" ¹⁴.

The revival in the North Lushai Hills has brought untold blessing to thousand of people especially when it entered into the truth of the Cross. During those years, the name of Calvary became better known even than the names of their own Hills. Everywhere people's hearts were melted by the story of the Passion of the Lord Jesus and they were led into an experience of Conviction and Forgiveness of sins. This gave great impetus to the work of evangelization which has resulted year after year in thousands of conversions and consequently, from time to time, great tidal waves of joy have swept over the land.

Mendus further said, "I have seen people thrilled to the marrow even in times of suffering and grief. I remember one woman at the funeral of her beloved husband actually dance along the edge of his grave from sheer uninhibited joy in the conviction that he was already in a state of heavenly glory in the Presence of his Lord" ¹⁵.

14. Mendus, E. Lewis, *The Diary of a Jungle Missionary*, Liverpool, 1956, p.82

15. *Ibid*

Since this revival many have acquainted with the English tunes and they have composed a number of Mizo songs which has a tremendous effect on the lives of the Christians. It must be said of its importance that the growth of the Church fairly depended on the hymns. The main theme of the songs was the Cross of Christ and his Suffering. The songs expressed the conditions in which they were living and the hope they had. The first well-known composers were *Putea, C.Z. Huala, Kamlala, Zasiama, Thanherha, Taivela* and *Chhawna* etc. The fourth revival started in 1935 from the south and soon had spread over Aizawl and the surroundings. It put emphasis on the Holy Spirits but its over emphasis in the spiritual gifts have misled many people in their way of thinking and beliefs. Many have claimed to have received the direct revelation from God. Thus the movement ultimately developed into various forms of particular gifts. Visions, prophetic utterances, speaking in unknown tongues and symbolic actions etc. were some of the characteristics. Those who were against them were regarded as 'unspiritual' and anti-spiritual ¹⁶. There were many instances where men and women, married and unmarried claimed to express the love and concern in the name of God among them and eventually resulted in the art of physical love. It has caused great dissension in the Church and has resulted in the birth of several cult groups like – *Pa pawl, Tlira Pawl, Khuangtuaha Pawl*

16. Saiaithanga, *op.cit.* p.57

etc ¹⁷. These groups have not died out till today and at present there are more movements still on the process, deviating themselves from the Church. However, inspite of all the defects and limitations, the revival of 1935 has produced many faithful Christians who added the strength of the Church. In 1944, when Golden Jubilee for the entry of Christianity in Mizoram was celebrated, the number of Christians in the north alone was 80,584. The strength of the Church was increased by 42,563 within fifteen years in the north. It must not, however be overlooked that all the revivals which took place in different times were without defects and faults. Each had certain disadvantages of its own and many were misled and were overtaken to excess. In many areas the Church had to face lots of problems and it must be said that each revival was followed or accompanied by some obstacles and complicated problems in the Church. On the whole, amidst these difficulties and waves of revivals, the strength of the Church was increased.

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17. James Dokhuma mentioned many other more local groups deviated from the Church, those were— **Thiangzau, Zakaia Pawl, Mizo Israel, Zoram Maicham, Zathangvunga Pawl, Isua Krista Kohhran** in his book, "**Zoram Kohhran Tual-to Chanchin**" published in 1975, after this publication, many more books or cults arose among the Mizo Christians – like **Vanawia Pawl, Lalzothanga Pawl, Biakmawia Pawl, Rorelliana Pawl, Chanchinmawia Pawl** etc. **Isua Krista Kohhran** and **Chanchinmawia Pawl** (new name as 'Fundamental Baptist') now began to be an established Church having doctrine, constitutions etc. based on Bible.

CHAPTER IV

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH IN THE SOUTH

It was in 1903 that the Baptist Missionary Society commenced its work of evangelization in the south, taking over from the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission. There were already few converts when the first Missionaries Savidge and Lorrain arrived at Lunglei on March 13, 1903.* These converts were able to assist them in their early works. Like the Missionaries in the north they had to cover the whole of southern Mizo Hills with their evangelistic works. Their work was arduous and tiresome. The seven Christians who helped the Missionaries were called by Savidge "*My Seven Men*"¹. They were *Challiana*, *Chauautera*, *Rohmingliana*, *Zathanga*, *Haudala*, *Khawngghinga*, and *Laia*. Some of them helped in the work of evangelisation whereas some helped in literacy works and in schools. All worked faithfully for the spread of the faith. In 1914 *Chauautera* was ordained as the first Mizo Pastor in the south and *Thankunga* and *Haudala* were ordained in 1915. Again in 1923, the rest were ordained. The methods

* There were 125 converts, 13 of them were already baptized at the time when the B.M.S commenced their work in the South.

1. "*My Seven Men*" – This is according to Rev. Saiaithanga's "*Mizo Kohbran Chanchin*" p 117. Rev. H.S. Luaja, in his book "*Mizoram Baptist Kohbran Chanchin*" mentioned different names excepting *Challiana* and *Chauautera*. Those were– *Vunga*, *Chhingkhupa*, *Makthanga*, *Savawma* and *Hlianga*. p. 47.

of preaching and the determining factors for the Church growth were apparently the same with the northern church. The wave of revivals, the famine, persecutions etc. which swept over the North has also met with the same response from the southern church. However, there were slight changes and differences on the Church administration and techniques of preaching.

In 1907 Challiana and Chuautea were taken to London and Rohmingliana also went in 1913 with Savidge. They visited many places in the west and they were the first people to visit European countries. The first evangelists were *Thankunga*, *Parema*, *Lengkaia* and *Zathanga*. The early converts travelled a lot from village to village preaching the faith. Baptist Mission Report of 1904 mentioned that "They were eager to accept anything that may tend to relieve the monotony of their existence. Consequently they are quite ready to listen to the Gospel story whenever there is an opportunity to tell it to them" ². In 1905 the report mentioned that there were 314 ³ Christian communities in the south. Report of any Chief who embraced Christianity was not known. A great gathering was held in 1906, in order that the distant and scattered converts, who tried to serve for God in the midst of the heathen darkness, may gain courage and strength to fight

2. Baptist Mission Report of 1904.

3. Baptist Mission Report of 1905.

against evil. It was arranged to meet once a year since then. During this day of gathering which they later called Assembly, the people could have much social intercourse and they got to feel that they were all comrades in the great warfare. It was also reported that the South Lushai Christians have nearly all adopted the systematic giving of one-tenth of all they have to God, for the extension of God's Kingdom and to help the poor and suffering. It was reported that in 1908 there was an increase larger than that had occurred during any year since the commencement of mission work in the south and the number of Christian community rose upto 500 ⁴. The large gathering at Zawlbuk ⁵ afford opportunity for the Missionaries to make known to the youth of Mizos, the message of Gospel, and it is here that some of the most successful meetings were held ⁶. The method used by the Missionaries may be understood from Lorrain's report of 1913, "Our first message as soon as we could speak the language, was a Saviour from Sin. But the people had no sense of sin and felt no need of such a Saviour. Then we found a point of context. We proclaimed Jesus as a vanquisher of the devil -- as the One

4. Baptist Mission Report of 1908.

5. Zawlbuk - being a bachelors' dormitory, youths including boys and elderly people used to gather together every night.

6. Mowis, J. H., *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Foreign Mission to the end of the year 1904*, pp. 227-233.

who had bound the '*Strongman*' and taken away from him "all his armour wherein trusted" and so had made it possible for his slaves to be free. This to the Lushais was "Good News" indeed and exactly met with great need"⁷. Thus, the new faith preached was rather accepted in a rapid manner. Lorrain reported that in 1913 there was the Christian community of 2,647 scattered all over the district in 103 different villages. The large increase in the number of the converts was due to no lowering of the Christian standard, 'God has used very specially for this harvesting work the efforts of a number of recently converted Government Lushais, whose official work necessitates constant travelling about the country'⁸. It was due to the efforts of the Missionaries and the ceaseless works of Mizo converts all along that the Church in the south grew in strength. The evangelists could hardly stay even a week in their own homes. They had to go out to different directions for their Ministry. They spend a month or two of every year attending classes in the Mission Compound where they were instructed and were prepared for their work. Besides the evangelists who were supported by the Church there were also five honorary evangelists known as *Soldiers of the Cross*. They were travelling a lot. Each had a circuit in the neighbourhood of his own home comprising about eight or ten villages and hamlets which he

7. Report of the B.M.S. 1913.

8. *Ibid.*

visited twice every quarter of the month. The work of these men supplements that of the paid evangelists, who were unable to get around their large centres more than three times a year. On the whole in early days, when there were only a few leaders among the converts the whole responsibility and care of the work had to be settled by them. And they were expected to make arrangements for them and take initiative in everything that was to be done. Lorrain reported in 1914 that the Mission tried to see that help of every kind which seemed likely to lead the converts to lean upon the Missionaries and the Mission rather than upon God and their resources was absolutely withheld. The result has been a growth in manliness and independence. Thus in 1914, he reported that The Lushai Church is self propagating and self supporting and is well on the way to being self governing" ⁹. As the whole expense of the work (with the exception of education and the support of Missionaries and their personal helpers) is borne by the Lushai Church, the Christians not only dedicated themselves to God but their substance also. The heads of Christian households generally gave one-tenth of their crops, and the proceeds went into a central fund for the support of the evangelists. Savidge reported that on Sundays, all the Schoolmasters became evangelists. They took a party of their pupils to the different villages around and spent the rest of the morning

preaching and singing the Gospel to the people. They were always sure of good audience as much good and lasting work had been done in this way. Thus, the Church in the south was strengthened as a result of the ardent ministry of the Mizo Christians and the Missionaries, and upto 1950, the Baptist Church was practically undisturbed by the sectarian groups. Therefore, there has been only two major denominations, the Baptist (in the South) and the Presbyterian (in the North) in the whole of Mizo Hills till the 1950s.

CHAPTER V

RELATION BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN AND THE NORTHERN CHURCH

On the whole, the Churches in the North and the South had practically the same objectives and they had shared many things in common between them. In spite of the geographical and administrative division of boundary within the Missions followed, there was mutual understanding and co-operation between the two. This was partly perhaps due to the efforts of the Missionaries and in particular because of the common culture, language, nature and oneness of the Mizos. Nowhere in the world would we find the kind of relationship that existed between the two. Zairema mentioned that, "In the early time, the difference between Baptist and Presbyterian began to appear. Seeing that denominational evils of the west was about to be perpetuated in his new field, one of the British administrators called a meeting of the Missionaries. What was done in that meeting we do not know, but from that time onwards, the Missionaries had communion together and practised virtually Church Union, "Their relationship was bound by the fact that they lived by the Gospel and for the Gospel" ¹. Many of

J. Shakespeare, the Superintendent of Lushai Hills, 1897-1905. see Appendix II the Making of Aijal. Letter to Peters.

Zairema (ed) **God's Miracle in Mizoram**, Synod Press & Bookroom, Aizawl, 1978, p. 9.

them had hardly any idea of the difference between the denominations. Lorrain has also reported about their relation in 1914 that it was cordial, happy and friendly ². All the full members of the Baptist Church in the South were acknowledged as full members of the Presbyterian Church in the north and vice-versa. Therefore, a Baptist or a Presbyterian migrating to the other area becomes automatically member of the Church in that area. No vital or disciplinary actions which could affect the whole Church was decided on by either section without consultation and agreement with the other. North and South co-operated over the translation of the Bible, the compilation of hymn-books and other literature, and Sunday School textbooks. Lorrain reported that, "in North Lushai Rev. Jones is devoting much of his time to instructing and training evangelists, pastors and teachers, while in the south, my time is chiefly occupied with scripture translation. Thus we are dividing some departments of the works between the two Missions" ³. Representatives were sent to each other on Presbyterian Synod and Baptist Assembly, and there was a system of interchange of visits and preaching among the Church elders. This friendly relationship was established in the beginning without any question of discussion on faith and order and it has been continued all through the years, giving strength to the Christian Church. Therefore, this is the interesting characteristic that we find existing between the two

2. Lorrain's report of 1914, p. 10.

3. Lorrain's report to B.M.S., London, 1914, p.10.

missions for a long time, even though the were slight differences in their policy. A Baptist minister may consecrate the child before baptism according to the practice of each denomination. Thus all Pastors of either Church were recognised, both and most of the literary works and sayings that concerns the whole community were done jointly. Such cordial relationship has smoothened the growth of Christianity and the Church in particular.

Lorrain in his report wrote "The brotherly feeling which exists between the two missions has made it possible for us to work harmoniously together for the spiritual and material welfare of the Lushai tribe, and we trust that nothing will ever happen to mar the spirit of unity and concord which at present exists". The dream of the godfathers of Mizo Christians that brotherly feeling and the spirit of unity should ever be existing between the Baptist Church of the South and the Presbyterian Church of the North has been gradually wearing away due to a few minor differences. But at the top to top level the two churches are still working shoulder to shoulder and maintain the same cordial relationship. Due to the large scale migration of people of the south into north the separatist colour have been brought out by those immigrants in recent years. Fortunately, that unwelcome spirit has been wiped off by the joint efforts of both church leaders as well as the public leaders*.

Brig T. Sailo, Chief Minister of Mizoram and Mr. Ch. Saprawnga, Ex—Minister convened meetings and subdued the situation in 1982—1983.

Both church leaders of the North and South sat together several times to find a real solution of their differences and to bring out a church union. It should always be wise for both churches if they can at all come together under a common name having common practices of rituals and ceremonies. Lorrain wrote a very basic factor of their coming together in his report like this— "To lead our Lushai Christians aright, we shall, in the years to come need much heavenly wisdom. We are not here to make them Eastern duplicates of Western Baptist but to bring them to Christ and to so guide them that they shall develop along their own national lines into a strong Lushai Church of God which shall be a living witness of the Power of the Gospel to change savages into saints and head-hunters in soul-hunters. We look forward to the time when the Lushai Church shall be a happy blend of that which is best in Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist with something added perhaps which no Western denomination can supply" 4

Introduction of other denominations

In a few years time denominations like The Salvation Army, Roman Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, United Pentecostal Church and some other sects have come up in Mizoram.

The Salvation Army began its work in the North in April 1917 under the leadership of Kawkhuns. In the beginning there arose a misunderstanding 1

4. *Ibid*, 1913.

tween the Salvation Army and the Presbyterian Church. But their relationship gradually changed to better understanding and their number in 1964 were 8,176 out of which 33 were Salvation Officers ⁵. They opened an Orphanage at Aizawl in 1952 and they are now also engaged in running Middle Schools and one High School. In recent times they have introduced the Blind School at Kolasib.

The Roman Catholic faith was embraced by few Christians like Thangphunga and a few others in 1925 ⁶. There were some controversies among the people on this issue and discussions and confusion arose among the Mizo christians and non-christians. However, the number was increased eventually and in 1947 Father Brianchi and some Brothers joined in. They acquired land at Kulikawn, Aizawl and they started a High School there. More Brothers and Sisters joined them very soon and they established more educational institutions, one High School at Chhingchhip and one Nursery to High School institution at Kolasib. There were 3,064 ⁷ Catholics in the North of Mizoram in 1961 and there were practically none in the south.

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5. Thawma, Sr. Capt; **History of Salvation Army in Mizoram**, Aizawl, 1984 (Unpublished cyclostyled manuscript).
 6. Siama, V.L. (ed) **Mizo History**, Lalrinliana & Sons, Aizawl, 1975, p. 65.
 7. Saiaithanga, Rev. (ed); **Mizo Kohhran Chanchin**, Regional Theological Literature Committee, Aizawl, 1976, p. 157.

The Seventh Day Adventist church was started in Mizoram by Lallianzuala Sailo. It was while he studied at Shillong High School in 1941 that he was influenced by its teaching. He translated many books of their doctrine into Mizo and sold them in Mizoram. Thus there were men and women who were brought to this teaching and in 1946⁸ he came to Mizoram and started the church. In 1949 Mr. Lowry and his family were sent from U.S.A. to help the Seventh Day Church movement in Mizoram. Mrs. Lowry started an English Medium School for children, the first of its kind in Mizoram. Many well-to-do families and children of high officials were attracted. They have their centre at Vaivakawn, Aizawl and in 1961 their number increased to 746.

The United Pentecostal Church (U.P.C.) was initiated in Mizoram by Kamlova, who was at one time a Mission Compounder and a lay preacher of the Mizo Presbyterian Church. He joined the Pentecostal Church in 1949 when Rev. (Mrs.) R.A. Dover, B.A., L.T. baptized him at Aizawl. Thus the United Pentecostal Church commenced its work in Mizoram on the 26th January, 1949 (the day that Pu Kamlova was baptized), and their number is rapidly increasing. In 1961 there were 9,246 members in this group. Besides these established church denominations there were several sectarian groups coming up in different times and they brought disunity in the church in Mizoram today.

8. Saianthanga, Rev; *op. cit.* p. 157.

Independent Church of Maraland (I.C.M.) formerly known as the Lakher Pioneer Mission is another important established Church in Mizoram. It was started by Mr & Mrs. Reginald Lorrain, who arrived Serkawr on 26th September, 1907 from London at the request of his elder brother, J H. Lorrain of B.M.S. Missionary⁹ Lunglei. At Serkawr they established their Mission Headquarters. It was seven days journey by foot or pony southwards from Lunglei. Within five years they reduced the language to writing and produced a primer dictionary, grammar, hymnbook, catechism and translation of the Gospel of John¹⁰.

The Mara Missionaries used the same methods of literacy, medical work and schools that were being used among the other Mizos but not until 1918 were the first two Lakherers baptized¹¹. In 1928 the New Testament was published, and the Old Testament was completed in 1951. By the time of Jubilee Celebration (1957) of the Lakher Church, now called the Mara Independent Evangelical Church, the entire Lakher population had become christian. This church maintains a very cordial relation with the Presbyterian Church of the North and the Baptist Church of the South and vice-versa.

9. Lalauya, R; Mizo Kohhran Hnuhma, Maranatha, Aizawl, 1982, p. 135.

10. Strom, Donna; *Wind through the Bamboo*, Evangelical Literature Service, Madras, 1983, p. 35.

11. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

In Mizoram, the Church has played a vital role in shaping the socio-cultural lives of the people. It has also played an important part in the economical structure in Mizoram. The Church can be regarded as the begin-association in matter of fund-raising. As mentioned earlier, every individual member of the Church is expected to contribute a portion of his income to support the Church and its cause. This principle is taken from the Holy Bible which says, "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me, But ye say, wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse : for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the store-house, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it" ¹. These words compel or convince a person to give and it become the practice of many Christians to give offerings or tithes to the Church. Thus every year the money accounts from these offerings alone may be about millions of rupees or so. Women are also engaged in raising fund. One of the regular practices for such is that the women put aside a handful of rice before cooking it every morning and

1. Malachi 3:8-10, The Holy Bible (King James Version).

every evening. At the end of the month the ladies collect the amount of rice and they sell it to the needy people at a low rate. From this too the Church is collecting a large amount of money. Besides, in many villages one or two sticks of fire wood are set aside by each family or by the female members and the money thus raised from this are used for the mission work. There were instances where Church-jhum was made and they grow rice, cotton etc. Women also made some clothes, bags etc., turn by turn and the money incurred through these activities were meant for the Church. Sometimes, in recent times especially the Church occasionally arrange fetes to raise fund for buying Hospital beds, mattresses, X-ray machine etc. The Church is justifying this so far as it is for good cause.

One of the important economic activities of the Church is the management of Book-rooms where different kinds of books are sold. They have the Printing Press and the text-books for Primary and Middle Schools are printed. They also have the monopoly of printing and selling. Christian Song books which are in great demand. Christian Song books and the Bible are rather a must for every home. Besides they published a number of collected songs for the young people. The opening of Hospitals and the collections for Missionary works through voluntary services, and by running shops have helped the Mission Schools, Dispensaries and Missionaries in different places. Every year huge amounts of money is being donated to-

wards such funds from different members, organisations and units. They also received some foreign mission support towards the various Mission works. However, mention must be made here that Printing Presses, Bookrooms and Hospitals are established not merely for profit making but mainly to meet the general welfare of the people and to reach them with the message of Christianity through these means. Naturally therefore, the Church does not involve itself in owning wholesale business, general merchants, restaurants etc. Those who are engaged fully in the Church activities are not permitted to do any other kind of profit making business but their spouses are often engaged in some other jobs to make the extra income as the pay for the full-time workers are generally low. The Church members are expected to help the Church according to their ability. A person who seems to be able to support the Church but does not give according to his ability is always looked down and is rather regarded as "un-Christian." But the religious standard of a man is not measured by the account he gives. However, the one who gives according to the proportion of what he has is regarded as a good member and an active Christian. During the famine, the Church was involved in rendering valuable relief work to supplement the Government distribution of foodstuff to the people. The structure of the Church normally consisted of different departments like Mission Department, Educational department, Medical department, Literature department and General department etc.

Thus one important role played by the Missionaries or the Church was the introduction of education. The Missionaries did not only preach Christianity but they also introduced the system of learning and reading. This was apparently for the effective teaching of the faith and it formed to be more useful and effective than any other thing. There never was any history in the development of a nation so rapid and so fast as the Mizos in their development of education as can be seen from the table shown earlier.

Soon after the British occupation of the Lushai land a school meant primarily for the sons of the village Chiefs was opened by the Government. When the first Missionaries arrived at Aizawl, they also opened a small school for some time but it had to be discontinued as they were to move out soon. It was re-opened by Mr. Jones in 1899 at Mission Veng and the boys enrolled as pupils were 30 in number in 1901. Annual grant was made by the Government towards its support. In 1903, nineteen pupils could appear in the Lower Primary Examination in which eleven of them came out successfully. Some of them joined the full time service whereas some remained as faithful teachers and Headmasters in schools till their death. Thus the first village Primary School was opened in the village of Khandaih (Phullen) in 1903, the first teacher of which was Hranga². At the beginning of 1904, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller visited

2. Lalkunga, C., *History of Mizo Education*, Hnamte Press, 1979, p. 6.

Lushai land. In compliance with his suggestion the Government School at Aizawl was amalgamated with the Mission School. The new institution being placed under the management of the Mission ³. Thus from the commencement of their work, the Missionaries received help and encouragement from the Superintendent of the Hills, Major Shakespeare* and also of one Major Loch who showed practical interest in the work by a generous gift of one thousand rupees towards erecting a school building for the Mission. Soon the School began to produce teachers as well as scholars, and laid the foundations of the present Mizoram Primary School system. The Mizos were very anxious to pass on what they learnt. Thus those who had learnt only the alphabet passed on that knowledge to others. Lloyd said that many youths who were found to have the facility of expression and illustration were sent on fairly lengthy visits to various villages. They brought the sediments of education to people who had never seen a book. The art of reading and writing was a completely new and fascinating experience to the people. Moreover, each new convert's ambition was to be able to read the Bible and the hymn books prepared by the Missionaries. Sunday was devoted to learning the scripts when adults learnt to read and write. As a means to encourage

3. Morvis, J.H., *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Foreign Mission to the end of the Year 1904* (1910) "The Lushai Hills" pp. 227-233.

* Maj. J. Shakespeare was the real maker of Aijal (Aizawl): See his own letter - Appendix I.

education, the Government exempted those who graduated Class IV standard of the day, from impressed or forced labour which was however stopped by Superintendent Perry in 1929. As a result only a little over a generation the Lushai Hills had a very high percentage of literacy ⁴.

The administrative report of the year 1904-05 revealed that the progress of education in the Lushai Hills was satisfactory. Twenty Lushais passed the Lower Primary standard at the examination held during the year. There were fifteen schools in the District which excluded three un-aided 'Girls' Schools. There was one Upper Primary School at Aijal and three Lower Primary Schools. Including five village schools which were opened during the year, the total number came to eleven. Of these, nine were in Aijal sub-division and two were in Lungleh. Four hundred and two boys were shown in the Aijal school rolls and sixty six on the school rolls of the Lungleh sub-division. Thirty eight girls attended these girls' schools ⁵.

As stated earlier the Government Schools were amalgamated with Mission Schools under the orders of the Honourable Chief Commissioner from 1st. April, 1904. The Mission at Aijal and Lungleh now received an annual grant of Rs. 2,030 and Rs. 1,440 respectively. A sum of Rs. 1,500/- was sanctioned for the construction of Mission School house at

4. Lloyd, J.M., *On Every High Hill*; Liverpool, 1955, p. 36-38

5. Assam Sectt., Home B. July 1905; Nos. 1601-16 vide 6- Education.

Lungleh. Moreover, annual grant of Rs. 615/- was made for the education of Lushai Chiefs' sons at Aijal and Lungleh and Rs. 150/- was sanctioned for residential quarters ⁶. Not only the education but also the morals and physical training of the Chiefs' sons, who would one day be Chiefs themselves, was already felt necessary ⁷.

Chhuahkhama was the first to receive the "Silver Medal" from the Government for being the best student. In the south, villages of Darzo, Thiltlang, Thingsai, Hmuntlang, Tawipui, Serkawn etc., were the places where the schools were first opened. Rev. Carter ⁸, a Missionary who was highly educated was appointed as the Honorary Inspector of Schools for the South Mizo Hills. He also started a Teachers' Training School at Serkawn in 1931 and he introduced a Mizo Vernacular School for those who were unable to go for higher studies. The object was to teach the pupils about crafts and handwork to have more social contribution. He was responsible for bringing about concert and he taught drama and music. Under his supervision the number of schools which was 25 in 1930 was increased to 150 in the 1950s. The first Middle English examination in Mizo Hills was held in 1909 and six

6. *Ibid.*

7. Assam Sectt. File No. IG/12-G, Genl. Misc. B. August, 1908. Nos. 84-85, vide XIV-Education.

8. Hminga, C.L., *Mizoram Chhim biata thawk tawh* B.M.S. Missionary-te Chanchin, 1903, 1978, p. 7.

students viz. Saitawna, Khiangi, Ngaithangvunga, Saptea, Kawlkhuma and Lianhmingthanga were successful⁹. Anderson, who visited the South Lushai District in 1913 reported that the Government expressed its high approval of the Schools on more than one occasion, and it supported five Chiefs' sons who attended the school. The Government also gave Scholarships to six of the boys and supported twenty others with annual grant of Rs 1,000/-¹⁰. The aim of the school was to give knowledge to the Christian community in the development of its character during the early years and to prepare them for teaching when more schools would be opened. In addition to the usual subjects dealing with general knowledge, the boys were taught how to be independent, self-sufficient in every possible way. In the matter of books, the Aizawl Missionaries have prepared the necessary syllabus for the pupils. The entire education of the Mizos was in the hands of the Missionaries till 1947 and the simplest alphabets in the Roman script and the aptitude for learning among the Mizos helped in the rapid growth of literacy which has resulted in ranking Mizoram the fourth highest in India by 59.50% (1981). Savidge reported that, "there is a strong desire among the lads to learn, but the parents often oppose that desire because they lose their children's help at weed-

9. Lalbiakliana - Mizoram Zira Chanchin, Social Education, Mizoram, Aizawl, 1979, p. 27.

10. Anderson, H., Report of a visit to the South Lushai, Mission of the B.M.S., 1913, p. 11.

ing and sowing time. They understand the advantages of education, but they are not yet prepared to make any sacrifice for the sake of their offsprings,'

11. Thus the initial response to schooling was rather hard and they did not want to send their children into schools. Gradually the Mizos began to see the value of education and its implication and the demand for admission into schools increased. Quite a number of non-Christian Chiefs' sons were receiving training at the Mission School for their future tasks. Savidge reported that in 1914 there seemed to be a greater desire on the part of the many children to learn reading and writing. This has been shown in several instances by their parents who came to sell vegetables in order to buy books. In five villages there were fully established schools and those were regularly inspected every month by a man appointed for the purpose. Out of 175 pupils there were only 6 girls. Eight of the boys passed the Upper Primary and 21 have finished the Lower Primary examination. They received Government Scholarship of Rs 3/- a month for two years. There were 72 boarders including the six girls. Discipline was strictly observed in the schools and character building was the great objective and with 12. this aim, religious education received full attention

When all the schools started by the Government

11. Savidge's Report of 1908.

12. Anderson, H., Report of a visit to the South Lushai Missions, 1913, pp. 33-36.

were handled by the Missionaries, the school work improved with regard to the attendance and the progress made by the pupils. Several boys were ready to begin elementary work in other villages. Savidge wrote in 1904 that "As I sat in the examination room a few days ago, I could not prevent my mind from wandering back ten years when my friend Lorrain and I came to the Lushai Hills. The people assured of us to think that they were like monkeys, and it was absurd of us to think that they could ever learn like other people. What a change ten years has brought, not only could many of them read and write their own language but some of them knew sufficient English to translate hymns and other books into their tongue.....There is a great eagerness for more knowledge, and it is easy to see how much more intelligently the educated boys can present the Gospel message and hold the attention of their listeners" ¹³.

Several educated boys formed a real nucleus from which much Christian influence is continually emanating. By their conduct and life, they were able to draw others to the faith. They were regarded as the most effective instrument for reaching others and they were regarded as trustworthy authorities on spiritual, moral and hygiene matters. Thus education progressed and Savidge who was in-charge of the Southern Schools wrote in 1916 that, "Every year something fresh has to be added to the

¹³. B.M.S. Report of 1904.

curriculum, the top class wants to go higher and so something must be arranged to satisfy their ambition. Until this year, we had to be content with what is known here as the Middle English standard, but we have to make another advance which we now call the Upper English" ¹⁴. It was also reported in 1921 that several Chiefs' sons who were supported by the Government became the ruling chiefs and nineteen chiefs in the South were Christians who ruled their villages in a Christian way ¹⁵. Thus the boys educated in the Mission Schools were found in different positions in the country as Pastors, Evangelists, Schoolmasters, Clerks, Surveyors, Soldiers and many others. Apart from the regular schools, many Mizos learnt reading and writing privately. The motto of the Mission School was — "Do your work everyday as if you were going to live forever; Live everyday as if you were going to die tomorrow — Remember that only our best is good enough for God" ¹⁶. Carter wrote in 1938 that, "One interesting feature of the years work has been the large number of Chiefs' sons living in the Serkawn Hostel and receiving education. Out of 54 boys in the Hostel, 17 were Chiefs' sons, many of whom will in time become the rulers of their fathers' villages. This is probably one of the most fruitful ways in which the Mission can influence the future well being of the country. Therefore I have become mor

14. B.M.S. Report of 1916.

15. B.M.S. Report of 1921.

16. B.M.S. Report of 1923.

firmly convinced than ever of the tremendous influence our education work can and does have on the life of the Church and the people" ¹⁷. With a view to improve the efficiency of the increasing number of teachers, the Welsh Mission, in 1925 enlisted a Teachers' Training Department under Miss Hughes, a trained certificate teacher with eight years' experience in England. She was assisted by a Lushai who had a year's training in the Goldsmith's College, London ¹⁸. At Lungleh also the Missionaries opened Teachers' Training course for a year in 1927. Since these were the only centres for Teachers' training, they became important centres and the Government supported it towards its management and since 1948, Rs. 6,000/- was sanctioned every year. Thus institutions run by the Church had spread rapidly and within a short period the Church produced a large number of local leaders to preach and teach the people. An important contribution of the Missionaries to Mizo culture was the introduction of western music to the rhythm of tonic solfa. Christian hymns translated from English and local hymns composed were set to music on Welsh pattern and they were introduced in the Churches and sung in unison in schools and in church by the old, young and children alike. Tonic solfa was taught in the school and Mizo music has greatly enriched itself over the years. The Church provided theological education and train-

17. Carter's Report of 1938.

18. Assam Secretariat; Pol.B, September 1926, Nos. 491-94
Vide XIV- Education.

ing for the local Mizos so that they could assume leadership and evangelical works themselves. It thus appeared that persons trained by the Missionaries were also found efficient in their work in Government offices etc. Commenting on the standard of the Mission School, Anderson wrote that, "The intellectual enlightenment of the South Lushai community, as a whole, is centred on that spot" ¹⁹. From the very beginning the British administration made it clear to the pioneer Missionaries that they were not supposed to ask help from the Government. But the very fact that the Missionaries were given a free hand to educate the Mizos was a great help and eventually, direct help from the Government was given to the Missionaries in the form of grants towards the Mizo education when the Missionaries were entrusted with the management of the whole education till 1952. The Baptist Missionary Society reported that, "The experience of the last five years had convincingly shown that the best way in which the Mission can help the Lushai Church is by retaining its hold on education" ²⁰. Therefore, educational works were progressing in both regions. It has transformed the Mizo society in many aspects and it is an important instrument and means to winning souls. However, it must be mentioned that there was no suggestion for imparting any higher education. They emphasised mass education rather than higher education for the few. McCall observed

¹⁹ Report of Anderson's visit- 1913, p. 12.

²⁰ B.M.S. Quin-quennial Report 1932-1936, p. 130.

that, "As the bulk of funds for the education of the Lushai people has been found by the Missions, it is only natural that the School teachers have been selected with due regard to their standing with the Lushai Church. This has tended towards teachers seeking theological, rather than educational technique. Lushais have thus remained educationally in the hands of this system upto the close of the middle standards" ²¹. The Missions took no responsibility for their higher education even though there may have been some among the boys interested to study further. The graduates from the Middle School were employed in different fields. Few who received Government support and who were promising were sent to Shillong, Calcutta or Serampore. Anderson observed that. "the results have not been altogether satisfactory, and it must be left for the Lushais to meet their own requirements in higher education, at any rate, for some years to come" ²². It was obviously difficult on the part of the Mizos particularly when the idea was not very much favoured by the Missions. Zairema maintained that the idea behind reducing educated unemployment and ultimately starting a High School was completely forbidden ²³. In spite of the various problems and difficulties, some of them could finish

21. McCall, R.G., *Lushai Chrysalis*, Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl (Reprint) 1977, p. 204.

22. Anderson's Report on Lushai 1913.

23. Zairema, *God's Miracle in Mizoram*, Synod Press & Bookroom, Aizawl, 1978, p. 23.

different courses. The first man who finished the entrance Matric examination was Leta in 1910 and the next batch to finish Matric were Thanga and Nuteii in 1911. Hrawva and Lianhnuna were the first B.A. degree holders in 1924 and the first woman to finish B.A. was Lalsangpuui in 1942. Khawtinkhuma became the first M.A. degree holder in 1936.

Girls' Education:

One of the few apparent lacks in the early part of the Foreign Missionary era was the work among the girls and women. Most of the parents would not admit that women should have any use of education. The idea of girls' education was not only opposed by men but even by women themselves. There was a general notion that even those few people who were educated did not choose to marry an educated girl. It was also partly because the girls had to do various domestic works and help in the baby-sitting while the parents are away. The early Missionaries had tried means to make the girls stay in the hostel and make them learn, but the experiment was not a success. Thus, the girls did not benefit much from the Mission work as compared to the boys, and only a few girls could be persuaded to attend their schools. The first school for girls was opened by Mrs. Jones in 1904 at Aijal. Since then it has been run by the Mission and it has been one of the best institutions till today in the whole of Mizoram and now known as 'Presbyterian Church Girls' School'. The experi-

mental Girls' Boarding School was also started by Lungleh Mission in 1907 at Serkawn and proved to be improving. Mrs. Lorrain conducted Sewing Class twice a week for the girls' Boarding School – some of the boarders were Chiefs' daughters. A proper school for girls was started by Chapman (Zirtiri) at Serkawn in 1919, and also at Darzo in the 1930s in the South. Through these schools and their works the Mizo society came to understand the position of women and they began to appreciate women's education. The earlier leaders of Mizo women society and the first group of educated women were those under the Missionary guidance and leadership. The ideas about the Girls' education to many was that, "Schools were merely meant for learning to read and write. Boys sometimes got jobs, in the Government or under the Mission, but no one expected girls to be able to do that, so it was far better for them to remain at home" ²⁴. The Missionaries mentioned that while travelling around the villages to encourage the parents, they happened to see many bright, intelligent girls and wished to teach them. When asked if they could send them to school, the answer they received was, "Oh no, she is much too useful. Take my boy. He is only an ornament. I could not spare the girls" ²⁵. But understanding the situation, the Missionaries decided to teach in school 'everything that a village girl had to learn'. Chapman men-

24. Marjorie, S., (ed) , *Mizo Miracle*, Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1968, p. 38.

25. Marjorie, S., *Ibid.* p. 39.

tioned that they had explained that every girl who left their school could do all her village works better than the girls who did not go to school. Anything that was useful as part of Home Science like cooking, washing and beautifying house etc., was imparted in the school. Therefore, after two years of work when the first exhibition was held everybody was invited to come and see what the girls had done during the year. The young men gathered round the table, "after all," said one of them, "It might not be a bad idea to marry an educated girl." Here was a crack in the wall of prejudice. Soon young men and others began to see the importance of education. Education began to mean something different and 'an educated girl' was not merely one who could read and write, but one skilled in the acts of daily Mizo life ²⁶. As time went on, and the prejudice against girls' education was maintained by experiences and the number of those seeking admission to the schools increased so rapidly that some of them had to be refused. This led to the gradual opening of boarding schools in villages. Thus the girls' school in the North and in the South were maintained by the Lady Missionaries and they were vital instruments for bringing changes in the socio-economic life of the people.

26. *Ibid*, p. 48.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AT THE TIME OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

The advent of the British form of Government and control for a time deeply affected the people. It marked the presence of a province hitherto unforeseen and unimagined. The Government aimed at securing peace, law and order, and the Lushais settled down to accept the new conditions with stoical sagacity. In 1901-02, the British introduced the system of "Circle administration" and Mizo Hills was divided into 18 circles, 12 in the Aizawl Sub-Division and 6 in the Lunglei Sub-Division. Each circle was placed under a Circle Interpreter to facilitate smooth relations between the Chief and the Officer-in-charge of the Circle. The Circle Interpreters were those Mizos who were educated in Mission Schools. The introduction of Circle Interpreter backed up by the Government with salary resulted in the emergence of a new elite group which was different from the traditional privileged class. However, the internal affairs were left to the chief and his elders who ruled their units according to the customary laws of the land, to interfere with the administration of the chief only when the chiefs went beyond their jurisdiction. The Superintendent was the official head of all departments in Mizo Hills. The entire power was centralized in his hands. This status of the Superintendent continued till the

free Indian Constitution came into force and the area began to be called as Autonomous District of Assam under the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.

The Government of India Act, 1919, said that the Governor-General-in-Council shall declare any territory in British India as a backward area under Section 52 of the Government of India Act, 1919. On 3rd. January 1921, the Governor-General-in-Council declared the Lushai Hills as backward-tract ¹. By following the Frontier Tract Regulation II of 1880, it was excluded from the operation of laws, both criminal and civil procedure code. Following the Simon Commission's report, the hill areas of Assam were divided into two categories – excluded areas and partially excluded areas. Lushai Hills came under the excluded areas, by the Section 92 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The term 'Excluded' here implies that Lushai is outside the control of the Provincial Legislatures, responsibility to Parliament for its administration resting in His Excellency the Viceroy as Crown Representative, who has emphasised, on his behalf, His Excellency the the Governor of Assam, as Agent to the Crown Representative, to administer the Lushai Hills ².

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1. Rao, V., (ed) *A century of Tribal politics in North East India 1874-1974*. 1976, p.52.
 2. McCall, Maj. A.G., *The Lushai Chrysalis*, London, Luzac, 1949, p. 238.

It was excluded from the operation of provincial and federal legislations. Thus, before Independence Lushai Hills became an excluded area and from 1947 the administration of the country was entrusted to the Government of Assam. With the consolidation of the British power in Lushai Hills the Christian Missionaries also started coming in and proclaimed Christianity. Their main instrument was education. The introduction of education enacted a new privileged class who posed a challenge to the traditional rulers. Thus racial and political revolution was bound to happen. While the traditional elites clung to the old ways and practices and their opposition towards change in the new situation forced the educated elites to mobilize themselves against the chiefs and traditionalism. Encouraged by the Bawi (slave) controversy, the first instance of concrete political activity dates back to 1925 when a group of persons under the leadership of Telela Ralte, contacted the Superintendent of Lushai Hills to initiate changes in the administration, so that they may participate in the Assam politics. The Superintendent was furious at this ³. Since Mizoram was an excluded area there was no way out excepting to mobilise public opinion against the then prevailing system of administration. Telela and Chawngbawia went to Shillong to meet the Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy, an important Khasi leader, to air before him some of the administrative and political difficulties of the

3. Goswami, B.B., *Mizo Unrest*, Jaipur, Aalekh, 1979, p. 128.

Mizo people ⁴. On their return to Aizawl, they delivered a few public lectures on the subject. But the British administration did not tolerate such political activity. They were arrested and released the following day after being given a stern warning. This stamped out the first public political activity aimed at Administrative Reforms in Mizoram. Therefore, upto the end of the second World war there was no organised political activity of any kind in the district. However, the first and the second World war accelerated the movements of politics in Mizo Hills. During the first World war many of the Lushai were asked to join the British Army. The Lushai Hills' military police battalion supplied 103 officers and men for the Army in October 1914. They also sent 101 officers and men to Manipur for eight months to relieve the regular unit. Throughout the war the battalion supplied men to the Gurkha Brigade ⁵. Besides fighting troops a labour corps of 2,100 men was raised in 1917 and went to France under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Playfair. They returned in June 1918. Again, during the II World war many Lushai men and women were asked to volunteer. Therefore, about 3,551 were enlisted in different branches like the Assam Regiment, Indian Army, Medical Corps, Burma Army of various corps, Assam Rifles, Lushai Scout Corps, Air Force, Navy, Auxiliary Nursing Service. The

4. *Ibid*, p.129.

5. Reid, Robert (ed), **History of the Frontier areas bordering on Assam (1883-1941)** p. 45.

Lushai Brigade or Corps contributed in recapturing Tiddim and Falam in Burma from Japan⁶. In this way the wars helped the Lushais to come in contact with the outside world and has accelerated in the emergence of modern political consciousness. "The closeness of Japanese troops in Burma had brought about a lot of political awakening in the district. The then British Superintendent, Macdonald had fully organized the Mizos to defend against the advancing Japanese. The posters and war-time slogans spoke about Imperialism, Aggression and Independence. The Mizos became fully aware of International names like those of Churchill, Hitler and Stalin. They also became familiar with names like Mahatma, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose who were fighting for the Indian Independence⁷. Ch. Saprawnga said that the new educated groups became conscious of the political instrument in the hands of the Superintendent and the Chiefs⁸. The political events brought about a keen desire among the educated Mizo Youths to organise themselves into a political party. By then, the Mizos had no concept of the Indian Nation for they were totally excluded from the mainstream of Indian Nationalism. The wave of Indian national consciousness did not reach them and they were only thinking of their own

6. Zatuanga (ed), *Mizo Chanchin*, p. 176.

7. Baveja, J.D., (ed), *The Land where the Bamboo Flowers*, Publication Board, Assam, Gauhati, 1970, p.75.

8. Saprawnga, Ch., *Mizo Political Thought*, (unpublished) p.1-3.

fate. During this time it was publicly known that the British were leaving India and the future political status of the Mizo Hills and the other hill areas of Assam apparently became an important issue. The educated Mizo Youth did not want the British to leave in the first instance and they also did not desire the power to be handed over to the Mizo Chiefs, who, according to them, used to rule the villages with an iron hand⁹. The then British Superintendent, Mr. Macdonald was reported to have blessed the creation of the Mizo Union, the first political party in the district which took its birth in 1946 to consider the fate of Mizo people in the times to come. Mention must be made here of the introduction of Young Lushai Association (YLA) which is claimed to be the beginning of modern political party in Mizo Hills.

On 15th. June, 1935, some political minded Mizo youth convened a meeting at Primary School at Aizawl. It was attended by David Edwards, the then Christian Missionary, Thanga, Hrawva, L.H. Liana, Zalawra, Kailuia, Pachhunga and Pasena. They decided to form an association and accordingly the Young Lushai Association (YLA) was founded. Their main objectives were to teach the people cleanliness, social etiquettes and the consumption of indigenous goods like the production of tobacco, when many

9. Baveja, J.D., (ed) *op.cit*, p. 75.

people began to smoke cigarettes¹⁰. Thus the first non-political organization in Mizo Hills was founded. However, the name was soon changed to Young Mizo Association (Y.M.A). Though it was a non-political organisation it could rightly be said that it was the pioneer of all modern political organisation in the Mizo Hills. So the association was rather mild in its aims and objectives, and as the leaders were mostly religious men they were in different to politics. Therefore, many members felt the need of having a purely political organisation. Thus, as already stated, due to the pressure from the educational elite groups, the Mizo Common People's Union was founded on 9th. April, 1946.

It was R. Vanlawma and P.S. Dahrawka, who conceived the idea of this political party. They prepared the Constitution and with the permission of the Superintendent, it came into being. The aim of the party was to improve the political relations between the common men and the chiefs. However, the name was changed into Mizo Commoners' Union at the suggestion of the Superintendent. But the inclusion of the word 'commoners' in the newly established party was rejected by the traditional elites for they could never regard themselves as commoners. Thus in order to include all, including the chiefs, the name

10. Vanlawma, R., (ed) *Ka Ram leh Kei*, Zalen Printing House, Aizawl, 1965, p.79.

& Hawla, V., *Zoram Hmarchan Zosapte chanchlu*, Synod Bookroom, 1969, p. 52.

of the Party was changed into the "Mizo Union"¹¹. Even after the change of the name, the chiefs did not join the Mizo Union. But it became popular with the commoners. On 25th. May, 1946, a Conference of the Union was held at Aizawl in which Pachhunga was elected as the President and Vanlawma as the General Secretary. The creation of the Mizo Union intensified hatred for the chiefs, and blinded by this emotional outburst the people were easily led to believe that any form of democracy is better than the old set-up under the despotic chiefs.¹² The Mizo Union fought the general election to the Assam Legislative Assembly and the Mizo District Council on the issue of abolition of chieftainship. In the circumstances the Mizo Union which was characterised as an agent to free the people from the traditional clutches of the chiefs gained overwhelming supports from the commoners. Chaube said that the Mizo Union were supported by the Congress towards the abolition of chieftainship¹³. Thus the anti-chief movement even took the form of mob-violence causing physical harm to the Chiefs and their followers. Therefore we find that from the beginning great ideological difference between the party began to appear and it has hindered the process of the party. The Union soon split up. The dissident group submitted a memorandum to the

11. Vanlawma R., *op. cit.*, p.90.

12. Saprawnga Ch., *op. cit.*

13. Chaube, S.K., *Hill Politics in North East India*, Oriental Longman, Calcutta, 1973, p. 107.

Advisory Sub-Committee stating their desire to opt out of India, while the Mizo Union proper submitted their memorandum stating their desire to join India under the provision of a District Council. * The Mizo Union existed during the period of 1946 to 1974 and it was merged with the Indian National Congress in 1974.

The decision of the Mizo Union to remain within India was re-acted against and as a consequence a new Political Party under Lalmawia came into being on July 5th, 1947. This newly founded party was called the "United Mizo Freedom Organisation." It was supported by the Chiefs because they were hostile to the Mizo Union. This party demanded the merging of Mizo Hills with Burma. But this party could not last long in the district due to lack of constructive programmes and economic policies in the interest of the people. When the Eastern India Tribal Union (E.I.T.U) was formed in the Lushai Hills, the U.M.F.O. was merged in it.

Bordoloi Committee

On the 24th. January, 1947 a motion moved by Pandit G.S. Pant, the constituents Assembly constituted the Advisory Committee on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, Tribal Areas etc., under the Chairmanship of Sardar B. Patel. The Committee was authorised to appoint a Sub-Committee to prepare schemes for the North Eastern Tribal areas and the Excluded and Partially Excluded areas. The

* See Appendix IV

Sub-Committee was headed by Shri Gopinath Bordoloi. This committee undertook tours to all the tribal areas during the month of March, April, May and June. During the process of discussion of the proposal presented by the different tribes, the Committee was guided and assisted by a famous social anthropologist Dr. Guha.

Recommendation of the Bordoloi Committee

The witnesses that appeared before the Bordoloi Committee suggested various means of reorganisation of tribal areas. Regarding the Lushai Hills there was a good deal of discussion about the future of the district. As already pointed out earlier there was a tendency to demand for the exclusion of the District from the Government of Assam by some of the educational leaders. Rao stated that in 1945, an educated Lushai Pastor, with considerable following requested the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills that he and his adherents might be excluded from the Government of Assam. This clearly indicates the dislike of the people of the Lushai Hills for the people of the plains and also thus ignorance of the constitutional position of the Lushai Hills¹⁴. Meanwhile Macdonald, the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills convened the elections of Circle representatives in order to look into the various opinions and aspirations of the people regarding their future political set up as well as the present administration.

14. Rao, V., (ed) *A century of tribal politics in North East India*; S. Chand & Co, New Delhi, 1976, p. 160.

Each circle was represented by two representatives, one commoner and one chief. The representatives of Aizawl sub-division unit on January 14, 1946 under the chairmanship of Macdonald held their first meeting. The meeting considered:—

- i) The Chief's power of ostracism
- ii) Reduction of *Fathang* and
- iii) Macdonald's plan for the formation of Mizo Council.

The salient features of the plan were, firstly there shall be a legislature consisting of representatives of the chiefs and commoners with power to make laws and levy taxes. There shall be a judge and an auditor, a minister and three councillors who shall constitute the executive service Commission for the recruitment of public personnel. To examine the constitution Macdonald effected fresh elections for the circle representatives to form the District Conference in April, 1947. The Mizo Union leaders boycotted the elections and as the main body of the Mizo Union did not support the District Conference, the draft constitution could not be pursued. The other groups however formed the Mizo Union Council and supported Macdonald and his idea of forming District Conference. It was entirely the activity of Macdonald. Before the establishment of the District Conference, no political activity was permitted. Before its formation, there was no other organised body except the Chiefs' Conference. The Conference was brought into existence to advise the Superinten-

dent on all matters concerning the administration of the District.

At first, the Mizo Union agreed to the formation of the District Conference and also its composition. According to this agreement, the District Conference would consist of 20 representatives elected by the chiefs and 20 commoners¹⁵. The first District Conference was held in January, 1946. It laid down the principle by which one could be expelled from the village by the chief. In 1947, the second District Conference was elected. The basis of election was joint electorate but 20 seats were reserved for the chief in the District Conference. The Commoners constituted a majority and thus they occupied a position of advantage. Then the Mizo Union boycotted the District Conference. This was the position when Bordoloi Committee visited the Lushai Hills in 1948. The Bordoloi Committee recommended that the hill districts shall be classified into two autonomous and non-autonomous areas. The Lushai Hills district came within the autonomous area. The Bordoloi Committee recommended that the Government of Assam shall not exclude the area of any existing autonomous district without its consent. The Committee recommended that the District Council shall consist of not less than 20 and not more than 40 members, of whom

15. Constituent Assembly of India-North East Frontier Tribes and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee, Vol. II (Evidence Part I (Delhi, GIP, 1947), p. 2.

Three-fourths shall be elected on the basis of adult franchise. It has recommended that the District Council and the regional council shall have the power to make laws for the area under their jurisdiction in the following matters— allotment, occupation, agriculture, etc. That District Councils and the Regional Council shall have the power to make laws regarding the appointment of chiefs, or headmen, their succession, inheritance of property, marriage and all other social customs. That District Councils may set up village councils or court for the decision of petty disputes, in which the decision of the village court shall be final. It might also frame rules regarding the conduct of future elections, the composition of the Council, appointment of staff, etc. The Borlooi Committee recommended that the District Council shall have the power to establish and manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, fisheries, roads and water-ways and also determine the medium of instruction in the primary schools including rules for money-lending or trading with non-tribals. That the District Councils and the Regional Council shall have the power to assess and collect revenue in respect of all lands within their jurisdiction. That there shall be a district fund or a regional fund which shall be administered according to the rules formed by the District Council and approved by the Controller of Assam. The Committee recommended that the Government of Assam shall not grant any licence or lease to extract minerals within an autonomous district save in consulta-

tion with the District Council concerned. That the representation of the tribal areas in the provincial legislature should not be based on population. As the hill tribes should get adequate representation in the provincial legislature Assembly.

The Committee recommended that the Government might appoint a Commission to examine and report at such intervals as might be prescribed on the administration of the tribal areas, in respect of education, medicine and communication and also the need for one new legislation. It was further suggested that the Government was endowed with power to dissolve or supercede the District Council by the recommendation of the Commission.

Thus under the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India in 1952, the District Councils were constituted in all the districts excepting the Naga Hills District.

CHAPTER VIII

WORKING OF THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

Upon the implementation of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, a new era of administration was ushered in in Mizo District. The rulers were to be elected for the first time. Accordingly, preparations were under way for the elections to the District Council in Mizoram. The Advisory Council was dissolved in November 12, 1951 by the Assam Government, and at the same time they fixed 4th April, 1952 for the date of election of the Mizo District Council. The Council consists of representatives elected by adult franchise to administer the functions, and exercise the powers entrusted to it.

In the first Mizo District Council election, the Mizo Union party won a thumping majority. The total strength of the members was 24. Of them, 18 were elected and 6 were nominated. There were two parties contesting the first District Council election—the Mizo Union and the United Mizo Freedom Organization (UMFO) ¹. The UMFO was badly beaten by the Mizo Union. The Mizo Union won 17 of the 18 seats contested by it. They were ² :—

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1. Vanlawma, R. : *My country and I*, Zalen Printing House, Aizawl, 1972, p. 169.
 2. *Ibid*, p. 169—170

North Mizo District

Constituency No.	Member elected
I	Pu R. Thanhkira
II	Pu Vanlalbuka
III	Pu Lalbuaia
IV	Pu H. Khuma
V	Pu Lalsawia
VI	Pu Hrangia
VII	Pu Chaltuahkhuma, Baktawng
VIII	Pu Saitawna, N. Vanlaiphai
IX	Pu Rotluanga, Lamchhip
X	Pu F. Sangkunga
XI	Pu R.B. Chawnga, Tuahzawl

From Aizawl town Constituency, Pu Pachhunga of UMFO was elected.

South Mizo District

XII	Pu Papuia
XIII	Pu Pathala
XIV	Pu Ch. Saprawnga
XV	Pu Tuikhurliana

Pawih & Lakher Region

XVI	Pu Khuaimawnga
XVII	Pu Vakova

Nominated Seats

1. Dr. Rosiama
2. Pi Lalziki Sailo
3. Pu Sainghinga
4. Pu Lalthawvenga Sailo
5. Pu Taikhuma, Pukpui Lal
6. Pu Medhia Chakma

Dr. Rosiama, nominated member was elected as the first Chairman and Tuikhurliana as the Deputy Chairman till 1957. The District Council was formally inaugurated by the Chief Minister of Assam, Bishnuram Medhi, at Aizawl on 25th April, 1952³. The new administrative system started operating from Aizawl from 26th April, 1952 with powers conferred on the District Councils by the Sixth Schedule. The first Council session was held on 23rd June, 1952. The first Chief Executive Member was Lalsawia and, Hrangia and Sangkunga were the Executive Members.

Under the Constitution, the Council has law-making powers with respect to—⁴

- (a) the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart, of land other than any and which is a reserved forest, for the purposes of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes or for any other purposes likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town;
- (b) the management of any forest not being a reserved forest;
- (c) the use of any canal or water-course for the purpose of agriculture;

3. *Ibid.* p. 170

4. Pataskar Commission on the Hill Areas of Assam, 1965—66, Govt. of India. *Report*, p. 146.

- (d) the regulation of the practice of 'Jhum' or other forms of shifting cultivation;
- (e) the establishment of village or town committees or councils and their powers;
- (f) any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation;
- (g) the appointment or succession of Chiefs or Headmen;
- (h) the inheritance of property;
- (i) marriage;
- (j) Social customs.

Though the Sixth Schedule mentioned various items on which the District Council was supposed to levy taxes, there was no mention from where the same would come in the beginning. Lalbuai said that the Council started functioning without any money. They needed money for its staff and the development of the District. Meanwhile, the Deputy Commissioner of the District informed that Forest fees amounting to Rs 13,000 only could be transferred to the District Council, which was quite inadequate ⁵.

5. Lalbuai, Ex.-E.M. discussed about his experience in the first District Council in the Seminar on Mizo History, organised by Mizo History Association, at Aizawl Club on 20th September, 1984.

The District Councils, of course were given a lot of powers - power to (i) assess and collect land revenue; (ii) levy and collect taxes on lands and buildings, and toll on persons resident in the district, and (iii) levy and collect the following taxes :—

- (a) taxes on profession, trades, callings and employments,
- (b) taxes on animals, vehicles and boats,
- (c) taxes on the entry of goods into a market for sale therein, and tolls on passengers and goods carried in ferries, and,
- (d) taxes for the maintenance of schools, dispensaries or roads ⁶.

The District Councils of the Hill areas demanded additional funds to the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, when the latter visited them in October, 1952. In response to this request, immediately an ad-hoc grant of Rs 10 lakhs was given from the Central Government. This amount was equally distributed among the four District Councils and the Lushai Hills got Rs 2.25 lakhs ⁷. Subsequently, the District Council passed its first budget for 1952-53 amounting to Rs 17,175/- which was mostly utilised for the payment of salary and allowances of its employees. Lack of funds was an input in the rise of separatists politics in Mizoram.

Ray, Dr. Animesh : *Mizoram Dynamics of Change*, Pearl Publishers, Calcutta, 1982, p. 95.

Ibid. p. 96

Meanwhile, question of the abolition of the chiefship, the main target of the Mizo Union was the political issue of the day. Even the Assam Government, which had made a promise earlier to the Mizo Union to this effect, found it difficult to pass a legislation about it. The Chief Minister of Assam said that "it was not easy to do away with the chiefs or find substitutes in their places. They are a very loyal band of public servants, experienced in the technique of administration. It should be the endeavour of the Council to utilise their experience and talents in the new administrative set up" ⁸.

The chiefs were not prepared for the possible abolition of their institution. In a Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister, Nehru, during his visit to Assam, the Chiefs' Council said that "the attempt of the District Council composed mainly of members of the reactionary party is against the spirit of the Constitution. If our rights and privileges are done away with or impaired, Indian Independence will be a curse for us" ⁹. The UMFO party was "against the abolition of the Chiefship :

8. Editorial Statesman, Nov. 10, 1952, Calcutta, quoted by Pautu, S.H., in his M. Phil Thesis "Separatist Politics in Mizoram", NEHU, 1983, p. 36. He further said : "The abolition of the chiefdoms without compensation was one of the issues on which the Mizo Union fought and won the election. It is evident that its view on the matter does not entirely agree with that of the Assam Govt. whose views has thus been expressed by the Chief Minister."

9. *Ibid.*

The UMFO is against the abolition of the Chiefdoms. Its leader, Mr. Lalmawia, told me that his party would be satisfied if the Chiefs were placed under the control of the District Council. The UMFO in the past was an advocate of Lushai Independence or alternatively, the District's merger with Burma. Mr. Lalmawia failed to carry the people with him during the election and says he has changed his former stand. They deny allegiance to any party in India but the Union feels some affinity with the Congress 10.

Eventually, the Assam Government passed a legislation for the abolition of the institution of Chiefs under the Lushai Hills (Acquisition of Chiefs' Rights) Act of 1954. In accordance with this Act, the Mizo Chiefs numbering 259 were done away with from August 16, 1954¹¹ in the northern side of Mizoram. The institution of Chiefship was abolished in the Pawi—Lakher Region in April, 1954. To replace the Chiefs and their *Upas* the District Council enacted the constitution of Village Council on the basis of universal suffrage. The Mizo Union won all the Village Council elections held on 24th July, 1954, proving once again their complete sway all over the district. The abolition of chiefship fulfilled the major political demand of the Mizo Union party.

In February, 1954, the Executive Committee of the Mizo Union expressed their concern on the in-

10. Staff Reporter, The Statesman, Calcutta, November 10 1952 on Editorial Page.

11. Vanlawma, R., *op. cit.*, p. 174.

introduction of Assamese in the Schools situated in the hill districts of Assam¹². It was felt that if this was intended for bringing the hills and the plains to a closer understanding, the language of the hills should be taught in the Assamese schools also. Without this reciprocity, the teaching of Assamese, which was one of the many languages spoken in Assam, would be interpreted as aimed at influencing and dominating the hills people through Assamese language. The Executive Committee deliberated also on the creation of a separate Hills State and the idea received the favour of the meeting as a whole.

Moreover, due to the lack of adequate financial support no development schemes in Mizoram could be speeded up. As a result, the Sixth Schedule itself came in for severe criticism within a decade of its inception. Even the meagre financial resources were released after inordinate delay. All these things strengthened the secessionist tendency in Mizoram. In their joint memorandum submitted to the States Reorganisation Commission when they visited Assam the Mizo District Council and the Mizo Union party clearly expressed their unwillingness of Assam policy¹³.

12. Ray, Dr. Animesh quoted the proceedings of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Mizo Union held under the Chairmanship of R. Thanhliar, M.P. from January 1, 31 to February 3, 1964., *op. cit.*, p. 127.

13. Memorandum jointly signed by Lalsawia Chief, Executive Member, Lushai Hills District Council and Lalpuais, General Secretary, Mizo Union of Assam, Manipur and Tripura, dated the 17th April, 1945a.

This position has placed Assam the easternmost frontier State of India, into one of political unrest born of a feeling of frustration and of suspicion which is taking shape; and unless a solution could be arrived at through the medium of (the) Commission a more serious complexity can be foreseen in this most important frontier State falling as it is between East Pakistan and communist infested Burma.

Apart from posing this general problem, the memorandum contained the suggestion that the Mizo inhabited areas of Manipur and Tripura should be annexed to Assam and these areas along with Lushai district should form one Mizo District.

The Mizo sentiment was aggravated by the Assam High Court judgement striking down on Act, passed by the District Council for regulating trade by Non-tribals, on the ground that the Act violated the Right of Equality. This conflicted with the Sixth Schedule which conferred regulatory powers on the District Council over trade by non-tribals. As Chaube aptly remarked : "The Supreme Court has not yet dealt with the question of equality in the few judgement it has passed on the District Council. The question is of some political significance which the bill-men understand as their special safeguard. The point of equality before the law does not fit into its framework". Further, "What purpose will be served by the Sixth Schedule if the plainsmen and hills peoples are treated at par in respect of trade and land acquisition ? Was not the Bordoloi Sub-Committee seeking to protect the hill men's land

and meagre wealth from unscrupulous plainmen ?”¹⁴ The verdict of the Assam High Court profoundly effect the political thinking of the Mizo people. This together with the inadequate financial provisions, reduced the Mizo District Council to mere local bodies and encouraged the political forces which championed the creation of separate Mizoram from Assam and from India in a broader sense.

The discontented hill people in the working of the District Councils under the Sixth Schedule finally called out to the central Government. They appointed the three member Commission on the Hill Areas of Assam in 1965 under the chairmanship of Shri H.V. Patasker to look into the affairs of the District Councils and their future.

The following table* shows the break-up of the population in these hill areas in 1965¹⁵.

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14. Chaube, S.K. : *Hill Politics in North East India*, Oriental Longman, Calcutta. 1973, p. 102.

* See table Page 83

15. Pataskar Report, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Table showing the break-up of population of North-East India Hill Districts, just before the outbreak of Mizo Rebellion 1966. Source: Pataskar Commission Report, P.9.

District	Total Area in Sq. Miles		Schedule Tribes				
	Population		Khasis & Jaintias	Garos	Hayongs	Mikirs	Mizo
1	2	3	4(a)	4(b)	4(c)	4(d)	4(e)
Garo Hills	3,07,228	3,152	50	2,39,747	21,597	6	18
U.K. J Hills	4,62,152	5,554	3,51,981	1 5,037	1,055	4,188	1,158
U.M&N.C Hills	2,79,726	5,883	3,951	3,326	-	1,16,887	284
Mizo Hills	2,66,063	8,143	193	12	-	1	2,41,434
	13,15,169	22,732	3,56,155	2,58,122	22 652	1,21 082	2,42,894
Continued -							
4(f)	4(g)	5	6				
Kacharis	Others(+)		Non Scheduled		Others (+) include Nagas, Chakmas,		
			Tribes	Castes	Kukis, Hmars. etc.		
1,320	265	43,379	846	* Hmars	-	4,131	
100	2,639	85,579	415	Kuki	-	7,150	
67,284	19,619 *	61,606	6,789	Naga Tribes	-	8,338	
14	19,360 **	5,044	5			19,619	
68,718	70,056	1,95,608	8,055	** Mizo Hills:			
				Chakmas	-	19,337	
				Naga Tribes	-	21	

The Commission submitted 26 recommendations for the administration of the hill areas of Assam. Among other things the Commission recommended the hill areas to continue union with the plains of Assam; adequate financial provisions for the development of the hill areas of Assam, the grant of more executive functions to the District Councils appointment of Minister for the hill areas of the rank of Minister of State or Deputy Minister¹⁶. The Commission's Report did not satisfy the hill people due to the fact that it supported the continued control of the Assam Government whereas the hillmen wanted to be carved out of Assam.

In Mizo District there were frequent allegations of favouritism and partiality against the Mizo Union controlled District Council in Government jobs, development works, loans, grants and distribution of house sites. This allegation greatly blew the Mizo Union in the election of the second District Council held in 1957. This time the Mizo Union won only 11 seats in a house of 24. At the same time the relation between Chaliha's Assam Government and the Mizo Union controlled District Council was getting worse. In order to undermine and weaken the Mizo Union, the Assam Chief Minister, B.P. Chaliha "pampered and patronised the MNF"¹⁷.

16. Pastakar Report, *op cit.*, p. 125-135.

17. Rao, V.V. : A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1976, p. 506.

On the eve of India's Independence the Mizo people, wary of losing their identity, were reticent to join India. It was with great reluctance and suspicion that the Mizo Union, the only party representative of Mizo public opinion at that time, agreed to Mizoram joining India ¹⁸. The Sixth Schedule held out the hope of ushering in a democratic administrative era in Mizoram. But the indifferent and neglectful attitude of the Assam Government caused disillusionment among the Mizos. The refusal to de-link Mizoram from Assam, and the Central Government's scant regard for the developmental needs of Mizoram were important causes for the subsequent revival of the demand of Independence from India ¹⁹.

Looking back the Constitutional debates when Rohini Kumar Choudhuri remarks

"This Autonomous District is a weapon whereby steps are taken to keep the tribal people perpetually away from the non-tribals and the band of friendship which we expect to come into being after the attainment of Independence would be torn asunder. During the British days, we were not allowed to introduce our culture among those people. Even after the British have gone, we find the same conditions in the new Constitution of Dr. Ambedkar" ²⁰.

18. Pautu, S.H. : *Separatist Politics in Mizoram*, M. PHIL. Thesis, NEHU, 1983,

19. *Ibid.*

20. Constituent Assembly of India Official Report, Vol. IX, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, p. 1015.

Rohini Kumar Choudhuri further remarked

"We want to assimilate the tribal people. We were not given that opportunity so far. The tribal people, however, much they liked, had not the opportunity of assimilation. So much so, that I, living in Shillong cannot purchase property from any Khasi except with the permission of the Chief of the State or with the permission of the District Council. I have no right to purchase any property in the tribal areas. And Indian has no right to purchase land in those areas without the permission of the District Council or the Chief of the State If this Constitution is adopted, those disabilities is still continued Why do you want to disassociate them from us by creating these Autonomous Districts which will remain autonomous? Do you want to keep them separate? If you want to keep them separate, they will combine with Tibet, they will combine with Burma, they will never combine with the rest of India, you may take it from me" 21.

Therefore, the prediction of this Constitutionalist has come true. Racial difference and the differences of culture, language, customs and religions from that of other plains people of India brought all the present problems of negligence from the Centre and ill-feeling from the tribals. .

21. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLT OF 1966

The great Mizo rebellion led by the Mizo National Front (MNF) which was to change the course of Mizoram history broke out in February 28, 1966. The party under the leadership of Laldenga demanded Sovereign Independent State for the Mizos. This party was at first organised in 1958 as a Mizo Cultural Society by John F. Manliana, a PWD Contractor by profession¹. But due to the traditional bamboo flowers resulting in great famine in Mizo District in 1959 such groups were formed into a social service party to render help and service to the poor and needy. They converted themselves into 'Mizo National Famine Front'. During the visits of the Chief Minister of Assam, B.P. Chaliha and Tribal areas Minister, Captain Williamson Sangma to the District, the Front staged demonstrations, and processions demanding food for Mizo people. They started publishing daily paper, "Mizo Aw" (Mizo Voice) whose Editor was Laldenga, an Accountant in the Mizo Union dominated District Council. The Front received a grant of Rs 1,500/- for the publication of this Newspaper and purchased a German typewriter and a second-hand duplicating machine. When the famine relief work was over this Famine Front eventually turned itself into "Mi-

I. Goswami, B.B. (ed.) : *Mizo Unrest*, Aolekh Publishers, Jaipur, 1979, p. 142.

zo National Front" (MNF) on the 28th October, 1961² with Laldenga as its President, S. Lianzuala as General Secretary. It now changed its line of action and declared itself as a political party. It was organised with military outlook and secessionist tendencies. They had their political campaigns with prayers. Their intention at the time of campaign was to preserve and safeguard christianity amidst the domination of Hindu nation (Hindusthani). Tlangchhuaka summarised their objectives³.

1. To serve the highest sovereignty and to unite all the Mizos, (and their inhabited areas) to live under one political boundary.
2. To uplift the Mizo position and to develop it to the highest extent.
3. To preserve and safeguard christianity.

Gradually the MNF was gaining ground and many Mizo youths joined the party. These youngmen slowly got indoctrinated in anti-government and anti-vai* feelings. Goswami attributed that Laldenga had promised to give arms to each one of these youths⁴. They were given lectures on nationalism and were trained to use fire-arms. Laldenga

2. Vanlawma, R.: *Ka Ram leh Kei* (ed.), Zalen Printing House, Aizawl, 1972, p. 196.

3. Tlangchhuaka (ed.) *Mizoram Politics*, MNF Hqrs, 1973, p. 19.

*Vai - The name given by the Mizo people to every plains Indian people.

4. Goswami, B.B., *op. cit.*, p. 144.

condensed the incipient stages usually noted before secessionistic movements, by narrating and popularising the Mizo past in glorifying words. In this matter, he was helped by his capacity to deliver mesmerising speeches which swayed the Mizo people : A section of youths, drivers, contractors, businessmen, ex-chiefs, ex-servicemen and also non-Mizo Union political party leaders considered him as a hero and wanted to become leaders under his guidance.

Ray remarked the real position of MNF when he said that although the MNF was strengthening its foothold and won two seats out of three in the Assam Legislative Assembly bye-elections in 1963. John F. Manliana from Aijal West and L.H. Lalmawia from Lungleh constituency the Mizo Union was still commanding in the whole district⁵. In the election to the Village Councils held in 1963, the Mizo Union got 228 seats against the MNF's 145, the Congress got 16, the EITU 12 and the Independents 10. When the third Legislative seat in the Mizo Hills fell vacant due to the resignation of Thanhliira, EITU, who was appointed a Member of the Assam Public Service Commission, the bye-election was won by the Mizo Union President, Ch. Chhunga, in 1964, although the MNF mastered all its strength to win seat for its candidate, P.B. Rosanga, a young commerce graduate.

5. Ray, Ammish : *Mizoram Dynamic of Change*, Pearl Publishers, Calcutta, 1982, p. 135.

Factors highlighted by the MNF for Popular Support

The following factors were pointed out by the MNF to win over the support of the Mizo people in their political ideology ⁶.

(a) They used propaganda and agitation to bring into relief the 'injustice' done to the people by the Mizo Union so as to generate discontent not only among the Mizo people but also in the Mizo Union party itself. The MNF compared the administration of the chiefs before the coming up of the British with 'Greek City State'. They highlighted separate nation concept, which the Mizo Union also pointed out in the Memorandum submitted to the Bordoloi Committee of Constituent Assembly. The MNF believed that the Mizos 'are a distinct nation, created, moulded and nurtured by God and Nature'. They considered the action of the Mizo Union for joining India as the political immaturity, ignorance and lack of consciousness of their fate which lead the Mizo people to the misguided choice of integrated with India. The MNF leaders in their speeches, memorandum, etc., demanded their rights as human beings. They used their own newspaper *Zalenna* (Freedom) under the editorship of seasoned secessionist R. Vanlawma, as a device to circulate their ideas among the Mizo people. The pamphlet published by the MNF also propagated similar charges which they considered as flagrant violations of humanity.

6. Goswami, B.B.: *op. cit.*, pp. 149-152.

(b) The MNF brought the factor of religion. The MNF considered India to be a land of the Hindus and Mizoram of the Christians. Along with the factor of tribals and non-tribals, it brought to the attention of the Mizos that they differ from the people of India on the basis of religion. And whenever Foreign Missionaries were asked to leave the country or were denied entries by the Government to any part of India, the MNF made capital out of it. In such moments, The MNF propagated that the Hindus (the Indian Government) have been pursuing a policy of exploitative measures to wipe out Christianity.

Lalthangliana alleged that the Indian officials exclusively appointed Sundays for their official visits to Mizoram which, according to him, entailed much labour and official works on Sundays as to make the Mizo christians unable to observe Sundays. In other words, he said, 'they want us to pay less regard to our sacred days'. The Mizo people do not want to be dominated by and assimilated to idol worshippers, he claimed, the MNF struggle for freedom was also the real result of their religious grievances ⁷.

(c) The MNF created occasional brawls between the Mizos and Non-Mizos to maintain tension and

7. Lalthangliana, Secretary, External Affairs (MNF), Government of Mizoram, Letter to Stanley Nichols Roy, General Secretary, APHLC, No. 20 (1) EA/66 dated Aizawi, the 13th March, 1967.

discontent at its peak. This generated Mizo solidarity in opposition to the non-Mizos, and also created a fear psychosis among the non-Mizos.

(d) In one of the memoranda submitted by the MNF to the Prime Minister of India on 30th October, 1965, it stated "During the fifteen years of close contact and association with India, the Mizo people had not been able to feel at home with Indian or in India, nor have they been able to feel that their joys and sorrows have really ever been shared by India. They do not, therefore, feel Indian. They refused to occupy a place within India as they consider it to be unworthy of their national dignity and harmful to the interest of their posterity. Nationalism and patriotism inspired by the political consciousness has now reached its maturity and the cry for political self-determination is the only wish and aspiration of the people, it is, the only final and perfect embodiment of the social living for them. The only aspiration and political cry is the creation of Mizoram, a free and sovereign State to govern herself to work out her own destiny and to formulate her own foreign policy" *.

(e) The grievances of the MNF included the increase of Indian officers, increase in immorality among women, economic frustration, curbing freedom of expression, closure of export facilities etc.

(f) But the maximum popular support the MNF could get was by pointing the poor develop-

* See Appendix VI

mental work carried out by the administration. For instance, Mizoram had no good roads, no proper water facility. To many, electricity was an unknown item. The traditional method of cultivation had undergone no change, and whatever cash crop were grown by the people had no good market. This point of deprivation needs detailed elaboration.

Apart from the Sairang-Aizawl and Demagiri-Lunglei roads, road alignments of Aizawl-Lunglei via Thenzawl, Aizawl-Champhai, etc., were initiated by W.E. Knight during 1894-1897. During the Second World War, the road to Silchar was constructed. A PWD jeep reached Lunglei from Aizawl on 2nd February, 1955 for the first time. More fair weather roads were opened, for plying jeeps during the time of famine (Mautam). The paths leading to the jhum fields were maintained by the villagers just before the outbreak of MNF rebellion (1963-64). Border Road Task Force (BRTF) took over the road construction work.

Missionaries first provided the education. The first school was opened in 1899 by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission at Aizawl. Christianity was interested in providing literacy only. Because their interest was that the Mizo people should be able to read the Bible and sing christian hymns. It opened a large number of Lower Primary and Middle schools. The administration did not like to do more in this matter in Mizoram. A number of Mizo young men therefore went out of their district for getting higher education. There they learnt about the political de-

velopment in India and abroad and subsequently they tried to implement the ideas thus gained through politics. The number of graduates increased fast after India's Independence, but there were no sufficient jobs in the district to be provided for them. The number of discontented educated youths increased and frustration for those who were getting education was obvious. The MNF reinforced the discontent by raising the slogan of deprivation of jobs to the Mizos. Under this condition the MNF had established units in every village to recruit volunteers to intensify their activities. Rev. Zairema rightly pointed out that out of 40 odd MNF Senators, over half were graduates who resigned from their posts to join the groups of men who refused to seek employment. There may be one or two among them who could not get the posts they desire to hold. The MNF could persuade only one young educated Pastor among over a hundred to join their rank ⁸.

Revolutionary Government

When Lal Bahadur Shastri came to Assam in 1965, the MNF submitted a memorandum and the part thereof is stated here: * "..... We, Mizos are the descendants of Mongolians, and from a every long past - we had our own independent State. Whether in politics or social life, or traditions, or in religion we used to have our entity. We have never become Indians even before the appear-

8. Rev. Zairema, *The Mizo Problems*, unpublished.

* - See Appendix VI.

ance of the British in the land Mizoram had already been one nation and one country In short, it is purely a separate country inhabited by different people (out of India) and it was designed by the Almighty God therefore, the Mizos demanded the creation of Mizoram, a free sovereign State to govern itself to work her own destiny and to formulate her own foreign policy⁹.” The assurance contained in the memorandum that the MNF would employ non-violent means was intended to hookwink the government so that they might not take any preventive measures. Meanwhile Laldenga intensified his activities and the volunteers waited for an opportunity to strike. This was offered by the Indo-Pak War of 1965, when the Indian Army had been deployed on the borders. The Front volunteers also pressed him to start trouble at the same time. He then formed his own government and named it “Mizoram Sawrkar” (Government of Mizoram). The cabinet members were :

- 1) President : Laldenga
- 2) Vice-President : Lalnunmawia
- 3) Home Minister : Sainghaka
- 4) Finance Minister : C. Lalkhawliana
- 5) Defence Minister : R. Zamawia
- 6) Foreign Minister : Lalhmingthanga
- 7) Information Minister : Ngurkunga
- 8) Chief Justice : John F. Manliana

9. M.N.F. Memorandum, 1965.

In December 1965 and January 1966, the MNF had organised a massive fund collecting drive in most towns and villages. In February 1966 the MNF intensified its activities and the party decided to start an armed revolt. Two days before the trouble started, the MNF representative in the Assam Assembly, John F. Manliana was recalled by Laldenga to Mizo hills and ordered him to resign as soon as he reached Aijal¹⁰. The order said, "Using the powers of Constitution of Mizoram Government, the President of the Government of Mizoram orders you to leave your membership in the Assam Assembly and give it to the Assam Government then resign immediately on receipt of this order. As your security is not good enough, if you can, go to the residence of the President at once."

The attack on the Aizawl Treasury began at midnight on 28th February, 1966 in which the MNF collected Rs 10,000/-. The Lungleh Treasury was also attacked and they collected Rs 440,000/-¹¹ on the same day. Simultaneously the outposts of Lungleh, Denagiri, Chaphai and Kolasib were attacked and captured whereas Aizawl was held out by the 1st Bn. Assam Rifles.

10. File No. GM. 1/66/2 dated 3-3-66 :

Letter from Principal Secretary to the President (MNF), Mizoram to John F. Manliana.

11. MNF Finance Minister Lalkhawliana : General Report No. 12 MG (F)/Min/66 dated 10th November, 1966.

When the Government of India learnt of the outbreak, troops were sent to the area. By an Extra-ordinary Gazette Notification Published on 6th March, 1966, the Government of India declared the Mizo National Front an Unlawful Organization. Being satisfied that the MNF had been indulging in activities prejudicial to the security of Mizo District in the State of Assam and the adjoining part of the territory of India, the Central Government by affecting the necessary amendment of the rules has ordered that Rule 32 of the Defence of India Rules, 1962 shall be applicable to the Mizo National Front.

What does the Amended Rule provide for ? ¹²

Rule 32 of the Defence of India Rules, 1962 as amended provides that no person shall -

- (a) manage or assist in managing any organization to which this rule applies.
- (b) promote or assist in promoting a meeting of any member of such an organization or attend any such meeting in capacity.
- (c) publish any notice or advertisement relating to any such meeting.
- (d) invite persons to support such an organization or otherwise assist the operations of such an organization.

12. Issued by Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Assam, Shillong, March, 1966.

Violation entails Punishment

If any person contravenes any of the provisions of this rule, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 7 years or with fine or with both.

Thus the Mizo District has been declared 'a disturbed area' under the Assam Disturbed Area Act, 1955. This Act of 1955 along with the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Power Act, 1958 had been also applied in the area. In the meantime, the Government of India also made the same declaration under article 352 of the Constitution. The Government entrusted the responsibility of law and order in Mizoram to the Army and issued a strict instruction that the Army was to function as in war time but strictly in aid of the civil power ¹³.

Grouping

Basing on the Defence of India Rules, the Government of India launched the operation called "Operation Security" in January and February, 1967 by grouping the villages by force. A population of fifty thousand from hundred villages was regrouped in 18 Grouping Centres along the Silchar-Aizawl-Lunglei road. The then political leaders, namely, those of Mizo Union, could not resist the imposition of the dreadful order although the public in Mizoram did not approve of the idea of grouping.

13. Ray Animesh :*op. cit.*, p. 154.

The immediate aim of the grouping was to facilitate effective military operation, against the underground elements who had taken control of the interior villages by cutting off the sources of food supply to the MNF and this was conceived by the Army authorities. In every grouping centre there was military unit to control them. The Government of India categorised the grouping centres into two. The first of which were called 'Protected Progressive Villages' (PPV Centres). At first each PPV was under the control of the Army and a rank of Major was in-charge of the same. But from January, 1968, the administration of PPV centres were taken up by the Civil Officers. The number of persons moved into the PPV centres was 50,000 from 106 villages ¹⁴.

In course of time, public resentment against grouping mounted and it was found that the legal base for the forceful grouping namely, the Defence of India Rules was weak. The Governor of Assam consequently promulgated early in 1968 an Ordinance known as 'The Assam Maintenance of Public Order (AMPO), 1968" which was to be used as the legal base for the continued grouping of villages by force, in preference to the application of the Defence of India Rules.

Accordingly, the second phase of grouping of villages by order, in the north west and north eastern part of Mizoram was carried out under the authority

14. Rao V.V. (ed.): *A Century of Tribal Politics*, p. 510.

of the newly enacted Ordinance (i. e., AMPO 1968). Then order of the third phase of grouping of villages in the central and south western parts of Mizoram under the AMPO was given out in the later part of 1968. By this time, the people had become quite fed up with this unholy action of herding the villagers into "concentration camps". The matter was referred to the Gauhati High Court by some individual enterprising leaders who challenged it on the ground that it was ultra vires of the Fundamental Rights ¹⁵.

The Gauhati High Court immediately issued a Stay Order to the Assam Government. Thereafter, the order issued for the third phase of grouping was cancelled. Ever since, the southern part of Mizoram has been free from this grouping operation.

In each PPV and Grouping Centres they formed a Village Council, consisting of all the Presidents of the Villages Councils of all the villages which were grouped together, local political leaders of the Mizo Union, Congress party, Church elders, and other important persons as might be decided upon by the Area Administrative Officer. In spite of the grouping of villages in most parts, the intensity of the insurgency continued until about 1970. As a matter of fact, disturbances continued in a virulent form until recently. The main idea behind the grouping concept, that is,

15. Sailo, Brig. T. : *Speeches and Writings*, Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Mizoram, Aizawl, 1981, p. 13—14,

to deny sources of food supply to the hostiles, has thus been belied. The desired results have not been achieved. The grouping operation has only caused untold sufferings and miseries to the general public resulting in total ruin of the village economy. Many people had to undergo psychological sufferings and physical tortures when they were ordered to shift from their permanent settlements. As a result of this, there was a feeling among the general-Mizo public that they were treated as aliens and even worse than enemies.

Atrocities

To mention the atrocities committed on the Mizos after the trouble started may be quoted the Pamphlet published by S. Lianzuala, MNF Secretary, Publicity Department only four months after the outbreak ¹⁶.

"So far my knowledge goes only in North Mizo District, the Indian Army burnt down 21 villages and gutted 2133 houses, they raped 54 women, out of which 2 adult women and a minor girl died due to excessive copulation by a number of soldiers. They burnt 17 churches so far, and looted many other churches. They occupy 4 churches at present cooking, sleeping inside the churches while the villagers were not allowed to worship there. They cursed those homeless bewildered women and children saying that "We do not care even if you all die, we don't need you, what we want is your land". They treated the innocent Mizo people with fearsome manners and as cruel as possible."

16. Lianzuala, S.: Secretary, Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Publicity (MNF), Government of Mizoram, Pamphlet, dated June, 1966.

Tlangchhuaka, in his book entitled "Mizoram Politics" also emphatically highlighted that..... "Like World War II story of the great rapes indulged by Marshal Thukov and his soldiers in Berlin, they (Indian soldiers) did the same in Mizoram. They spoiled many virgin girls.....even married ones..... Some girls were forced to their camps for their own pleasures.....There is no limit over their act of atrocities. The men were driven away towards the jails not giving any chance to mention their rights. Many were threatened to death, hanged upside down and they suffered all kinds of tortures and as a consequence many were deformed physically.....They called the general public meeting in the churches, and used them for torturing and killing the inmates.....They even raped some girls inside the churches, and in some churches they did not allow them to come out from their meetings" 17.

Whenever there was an encounter between the Security Forces and the MNF, after the encounter, the Security Forces either burnt down the village nearest to the place where the encounter took place or beat up the male members of that village or the first group of civilians they met. Such incidents happened as many times that it generated bitterness and hatred in the public. In many an encounter or ambush the Security Forces have hardly been able to punish or arrest the real MNF soldiers. But almost in

17. Tlangchhuaka (ed.) : *Mizoram Politics*, 1974, p. 19.

variably they punished the innocent public nearest to the place of encounter/ambush.

The Security Forces have also grossly abused the special power given to them, namely, arresting a person on suspicion. In many cases they wrongfully detained such persons for long periods and tortured them. Sometimes they used this method as a weapon of intimidation. For instance, if a villager reports to higher civil authorities against the wrong-doing of the Security Forces in his village, the latter will arrest him charging him as a suspected MNF sympathiser and threatened him with dire consequences.

Another instance of bitterness against the Security Forces is occasioned by their utter disrespect to the church congregation. In some places the Security Forces suspected some MNF or their agents as being present in the church congregation on sundays. They came and drove the congregation of the church in a most vulgar manner and herded them together in the open ground outside for long periods whether in rain or sunshine ¹⁸.

It is evident that the trouble in Mizoram is not a military problem, it is a political problem and consequently a human problem – a battle of the hearts ¹⁹. The majority of the Mizo who were peace loving have become the innocent victims of

18. Sailo, Brig. T. : *op. cit.*, p. 3.

19. *Ibid.*

the MNF uprising of 1966. The church leaders—Rev. Zairema, together with Rev. Lalngurauva Ralte and Rev. Sawiluaia contacted the underground Mizos and the Government of India for peace talks. However, they failed in their mission. The role played by the church for peace talks will be stressed in the next chapter.

Due to lightened security measures, confusion among the MNF groups and continued unsettled condition, the liberal group of the MNF wanted peace and to lead a civilised life. So the Government offered amnesty to the underground MNF for their return. Many underground Mizo National Front and the Mizo National Army started surrendering to the Government for better and normal life. From early 1975, there were encouraging gestures both from the Central Government and from Laldenga for negotiated settlement. After preliminary discussions were held between the two parties, on 24th January, 1976, Laldenga landed in New Delhi with his family and started negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Mizo problems within the framework of the Indian Constitution.

CHAPTER X

CHURCH IN THE MIDST OF TROUBLED WATERS

When the disturbance broke out in Mizoram the Indian Security Forces often disrupted and sometimes even dispersed church meetings in many villages. Lalthangliana blamed them (the Security Forces) that wherever they go they defiled the churches and sacred properties therein by robbing the churches, encamped themselves in the churches, dug trenches in the churchyards. The soldiers cut and tore the Holy Bibles and Hymn books into pieces. The Indian soldiers did not allow regular church meetings in most of their occupied villages. Lalthangliana further alleged that some of the Indian Commanding Officers even said "You bloody Mizos, call upon your God Jesus, and bring him here that we may defeat along with you." This vile challenges flared up the religious sentiments of the people and alienated them into becoming strangers¹.

When in May, 1966, Mr. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam addressed the people of Mizoram at Aizawl he said that they want Mizoram but not the people in it Lalthangliana surprisingly told. He further said that Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, the former Home Minister of India was also reported to have

1. Lalthangliana, MNF Foreign Secretary, Letter to Stanley Nichols Roy, General Secretary, APHLC, No. 20.. (1) EA/66 dated Aizawl, the 13th March, 1967.

informed the Press Reporters that the Government of India does not care to annihilate the Mizo people so long as Mizoram is a part of India ².

While the atrocities from the Security Forces was going on, the people of Mizoram were aware of the subversive activities of the underground Mizo National Front. Firstly, the MNF Home Minister ordered all the Mizo servants earning money from the Government of India within Mizoram to leave their jobs ³.

The Assam Government alleged the MNF President Laldenga and Vice-President, Lalnunmawia, that the two leaders gave to the Chief Minister of Assam, B.P. Chaliha just a few months before the outbreak, an assurance in writing that the organization would be loyal to the Constitution of India and would not resort to any unconstitutional activity. In spite of that solemn assurance the MNF started violence from the night of 28th February 1966, in the various parts of the District in the name of Mizo Freedom. "The armed gangs of the MNF have resorted to looting, arson, kidnapping and various forms of coercion. They have threatened the people of various areas with dire consequence, if they refuse to follow or support them. These unlawful activities forced the Government to call in Security Forces to restore law and order in

2. *Ibid.*

3. MNF Home Minister Order No. G-1/66 dated March 5, 1966.

the District and the Security Forces have, in the mean time, brought the situation under control. The Security Forces will remain there till these armed gangs are liquidated" 4.

The Presbyterian Church Synod now felt that they had a role to play to stop the growth of the deteriorating situation in Mizoram by restoring goodwill and mutual understanding between the MNF and the general public and also between the Security Forces and the Mizo people. They for the first step issued a Pamphlet through which they expressed very boldly that the church condemned the violent activities in Mizoram which was against the teachings of Gospel as well as the laws of Human Rights 5.

When the Mizoram Government (MNF) received a copy of the Church Pamphlet, they could not digest its contents. The Home Ministry (MNF) obstructed its circulation due to the fact that the contents of the Pamphlet was against the desires of the Government of Mizoram. They warned them that if the Church leaders do not adhere to their instruction, the laws of the country would determine their fate 6.

The Baptist Assembly of Serkawn also followed the step taken by the Presbyterian Church of Aizawl.

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4. Government of Assam Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Shillong, Pamphlet No. AGP (I&P) No. 8/66 dated 22-4-1966.
 5. Church Pamphlet on the Issue of Trouble in Mizoram, dated 12-3-1966.
 6. Home Ministry (MNF) Letter to Synod Leader, dated 16-3-1966.

When they published their first pamphlet they openly charged the MNF to be responsible for the sufferings of the innocent Mizo public. At the same time they requested them to stop all violence ⁷.

The Presbyterian Church and the Baptist Church in its joint "Special Executive Committee" on 8-9-1966 jointly issued another Pamphlet to the members of churches. They rightly pointed out that the true spirit and the true teachings of Jesus Christ can only be found in the Holy Bible. They instructed the christians to be cautious on this matter. They earnestly beseeched the Mizos, being all christians, not to use violent means to safeguard their religious rights. The Church can never approve the violent movement as means to bring about the Kingdom of God, they added ⁸.

Lalnunmawia, Vice-President (MNF) not only objected the Pamphlet, but again issued his circular ⁹ to add to the problems of the fearing overground Mizo citizens. In his circular, he prohibited participation either as candidates or voters in any election conducted by Government of India within Mizoram. Secondly, no Mizo should enrol his/her name in any Census of India. Thirdly, he disallowed rendering of labour to Indian Security Forces

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7. An Appeal to the MNF and Volunteers by the Zoram Baptist Church, Appeal, dated 30-5-1966.
 8. Presbyterian & Baptist Church of Mizoram Pamphlet or **Kohhran Thuchah**, dated 8-9-1966.
 9. President Circular No. MS. 3(V-P)/66/89 dated 22-12-1966.

and not only that, he ordered the people to restrain themselves from giving any kind of help to the Security Forces either in cash or in kind. The Security Forces at the same time requisitioned forced labour and demanded water, fire-wood, fowl, etc. wherever they went. To disrupt Indian Postal Services within Mizoram, Lalnunmawia controlled the people not to get involved in Indian Postal Services. He said that all those who disobey the instructions made by his Government should be treated as enemy of the Government of Mizoram (MNF).

The MNF also instructed the Deputy Commissioner of Police (MNF) to burn down the Election Office, Deputy Commissioner's office and the office of the District Council at Aizawl and if possible to kill some of the key public leaders and officials without delay¹⁰. They also prohibited the Mizo people from entering the Indian "Concentration Camps" or Grouping Centres. They said that even if the Indian soldiers forced them to enter, they should leave the Camp at the earliest possible chance or run away before entering the Centre¹¹.

Meaningful Approach

The relations between MNF and the Mizo Union party and its dominated District Council, also between MNF and the churches was rather strained in the eyes of the Indian Security Forces to be a Mizo was

10. Home Ministry (MNF) Order No. 3 GM (H)-Con/67/91 dated 3-1-1967.

11. *Op. cit.*, No. 5 GM (H) Rules/67/102 dated 6-1-1967.

more or less a crime. Things were going from bad to worse in Mizoram.

At this critical juncture, Rev. Zairema, an upright leading man, a graduate both in Science and Theology with First Class, came out on the scene. He took a great risk when he went to reach both Government and Laldenga to subside the current of the troubled water that entailed the general Mizo people. First of all, he wrote a letter to Laldenga, the MNF chief and sent it through a special messenger. The content of his letter is ¹²—

“We all realised the [difficult situation in Mizoram. The Government of India has no intention of withdrawing from our country, and you, on your part, are determined to drive them out. Your military forces have had frequent clashes, resulting in the sufferings of innocent men, women and children. If things continue as they are, this suffering is bound to increase in intensity.”

Rev. Zairema informed Laldenga that the Presbyterian and the Baptist Church were very much concerned about the state of affairs. He said that the church believed that there must be a way of restoring peace and security in Mizoram, and because of which, both the churches have appointed representatives to deal with the matter. The church is of the opinion that they should have a talk over the matter with MNF President first before approaching the

12. Rev. Zairema, Letter to Laldenga, President, Government of Mizoram, Camp : Mobile, dated 6-9-1966.

Government of India. Rev. Zairema addressed Laldenga ¹³ -

"We are as anxious as you and your Government to restore peace in our country. I, therefore, have every hope that you will welcome to meet the representatives of our churches at your convenience and co-operate with them in exploring ways and means for speedy restoration of normalcy. I shall, therefore, greatly appreciate your view of this proposed personal meeting."

Rev. Zairema requested Laldenga to chalk out the time and place of meeting not further off than a day's journey from a motorable road if the latter agree with their proposal. In another letter Rev. Zairema informed Laldenga the three names of delegates selected by the churches for Christian Peace Committee, viz., ¹⁴ (1) Rev. Zairema (2) Rev. Lallngurauva Ralte (3) Rev. H.S. Luaia of Baptist Church. Laldenga was positive in the issue and when he replied the letter he gave his assent to the proposal ¹⁵. The first meeting was, therefore, held between the MNF President, Laldenga and the Church leaders. The following is the full-text of the church report.

The following points were specifically discussed.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Rev. Zairema, Letter to Laldenga, dated 24th September, 1966.

15. Laldenga, Letter to Rev. Zairema, No. MGG (4-PO) /66/ 22 dated 17th September, 1966.

(1) Violent Uprising

We expressed our disapproval of violence that has disrupted, this being contrary to Christ's teaching. The President replied that their party was also against any form of violence and they had tried every peaceful means to realise their political ideals. They had finally resorted to violence as a form of selfdefence to their personal liberties. They had submitted their memorandum, the President and the Vice-President had signed the pledges to the Chief Minister of Assam, Mr. B. P. Chaliha, that they would not resort to Violence but would adopt only constitutional and peaceful means. They accused Mr. Chaliha of facing them with a smiling face but making secret preparation to stab them in the back. Hearing of this, the President said that they too made preparations to defend themselves. Their intelligence reports disclosed the Government's intention towards them and that the Assam Government was planning to ban the party and arrest all their leaders. In order to prevent violent opposition to such mass arrests, the 18th Assam Rifles Battalion and a Jat Regiment was to be moved in to Mizo District. When the 18th Assam Rifles Battalion was being moved in, the President claimed to have sent Telegram to the Chief Minister, protesting at this action. When there was no reply to the telegram, he said he made a direct phone call to the Chief Minister who said that the troops were being moved in to control lawless elements in the District. But Mr. Chaliha himself stated in the Assambly that crime rate in Mizo District had greatly decreased and therefore, he, Mr.

Laldenga, insisted that there was no jurisdiction for increasing troops in the District, for this was bound to create more trouble and problems. During the Mau-tam Famine in 1960, a number of military drivers were employed to carry supplies and there was a near serious quarrel between them and the Mizo people. When the Border Road Force came out to build road there also started troubles culminating in the Zema-bawk incident where one officer and one Mizo were killed. Sending in more troops would create more troubles than was expected to solve. In order to avoid this, Mr. Laldenga claimed to have urged the Chief Minister to withdraw the troops which the latter refused. Later on, Mr. Laldenga stated that the troops were sent purposely to suppress their freedom. To preserve their very existence, they had to declare Independence, organise themselves into a Government and use force to prevent the Indian Government from having any further control over them. He maintained that their actions were purely a case of self-defence.

(2) Church Matters

The delegation then protested against the action of the MNF in their attempts to prevent our own Church members. The Church, being a religious body claims the right to speak what we believe is the teaching of Jesus Christ.

In reply to this, the President conceded our right to speak boldly about spiritual matters but we were reminded that they were also members of the church.

The church should, therefore, confine herself to spiritual matters and in so doing should be careful not to hurt the political ideological feelings of any section of her members. He expressed his appreciation of our condemnation of violence and wanton destruction of human lives and properties. He conceded the possibility that some lawless elements among his party might have committed certain unpardonable crimes against humanity just as the Indian troops had done, and invited us to keep him informed of such facts. He, however, said that in condemning violence and certain actions of the MNF party, the Church should also condemn the Indian Government for indiscriminate bombing of civilian population of Aijal town and other villages, the rise of incendiary bombs, burning of villages, raping of women, looting of villages, forcing villagers to supply labour without payment, killing of domestic animals without payment, forcible restriction of the freedom of people and curtailment of their human rights. He also complained about desecration of church buildings for shelter, urinating and passing stool inside, spreading fowl entrails on pulpit, drinking liquor and leaving the empty bottles therein. He also mentioned of troops entering Church buildings with arms while public worship was going on and the burning alive of one woman wounded on the leg at Serzawl village. These things, he said, the church should also condemn.

3. The Church delegation then produced a copy of a letter which some church leaders were compelled to sign. The letter in effect states : "We

reject the Government of India who are idol worshippers and we accept the Mizoram Government which is a Christian Government as our Government". The President, on seeing a copy of this letter, expressed his shame at the action if true, of those who originated such a thing. He promised to stop it immediately and requested us to help him find out the author of such an idea to expedite his investigations. He agreed with us that the church is an organization for the spiritual welfare of the people and that the State should not interfere in her spiritual activities. He requested us to maintain strict neutrality in the political upheaval in the country.

4. The delegation also produced a list of names suspected to have been captured by the MNF but whose whereabouts are now unknown. A copy of the list was also taken and the President promised to investigate the matter. Some were known to him while others were unknown. We mentioned in particular the case of Mr. Laldochhunga and Mr. John Kr. Rualkhuma of the SIB. The Director of their Intelligence stated that both of them had indeed been captured by the volunteers and were taken to destinations unknown to him at present and he had no further information of what happened to them. In this connection, the President made the following remarks :—

"When the uprising started, we had no time to deal with all problems. The officers appointed to deal with prisoners could not join their posts for

sometime. The prisoners were passed from hand to hand. Some were shot while trying to escape and even to this day, we are unable to straighten out many things. Those who had been guilty of definite crime had been suitably punished and we are determined to see that no innocent people suffer. Just as Indian troops had killed and captured some innocent people, some of our boys might have been guilty of such crimes in the beginning stages, but we are now well-organised and no innocent people will suffer under our hands. We shall now institute investigations about these men and assure you that justice will be meted out. Further, the Government of Mizoram is making indemnity of those who suffered accidentally or through unavoidable circumstances under our hands. We are prepared to cooperate with the Government of India to stamp out any crime and we shall hand over any criminals taking shelter among us to the Indian Police if their case histories are reported to us. We do not want to harbour criminals and we hope that some day it will be possible to create some sort of Inter-pol".

5. The Church delegation also raised the question of threatening letters, threat of violence to individual lives and particularly against the leaders of the Mizo Union and the heads of the District Council. The President regretted that such methods of intimidation had been adopted by certain groups of his people without his approval. The '13 Black List' was originally unknown to him and he had since discovered who were responsible for putting

up such a list and he expressed strongly of his disapproval. It was not the intention of the party to stamp out ideological differences by violence. The President maintained that they had resorted to arms only as a last resort to preserve their very existence. They had no hopes of realising their political aims by means of violence and they realised that armed conflict with India will not solve their political differences. If, however, India should continue to use force, they too would have to resort to the use arms till they are completely annihilated. It is their desire to settle their political differences with India and also with the Mizo Union by non-violent means. Enough blood had already been shed and they had no wish to shed more Mizo blood and it is their avowed policy not to commit any political assassination on account of ideological differences. The Delegation then urged the President to issue a letter to this effect to Mizo Union and the District Council leaders. He agreed to consider the matter but expressed his belief that this message conveyed through the Church delegation should be enough to allay their fears. He also assured us that they have started their Police Organization and no unnecessary killing should take place in future.

6. The Delegation further pressed the point of certain threatening letters against the ordinary public and in particular against one member of the delegation. The President regrets that such threatening letters had been written. He said that among them, there are still a number of unruly elements.

Many of the problem boys of normal days had joined them and they are still problem boys among them. His Government is, however, taking all precautionary and disciplinary measures. No arms are now issued except to those who are known to be reliable and those unreliable ones are also being gradually disarmed.

(7) The Delegation pointed out cases of 'Fund Raising' by masked men at gun point. The President regrets that many crimes had been committed in the name of the MNF. The Chief Commissioner, Western Division, whose jurisdiction extends over Aijal town, assured us that he had not yet ordered any collection of 'taxes' in Aizawl town and that he would take immediate action to stop such unauthorised activities. He pointed out to us the increase of 'Zu' and gambling in Aizawl town and if the Indian Government is unable to deal with the problem effectively, they would step in soon.

(8) The Delegation also raised the question of cease-fire and peace talk or some sort of sectional truce in matters like schools, road buildings, medical works, general development programmes for the country and such international problems—malarial eradication in Mizo District. The President pointed out that any activities of the Indian Government in Mizoram is an illegal activity and therefore they cannot allow or agree to such activities even if they cannot prevent them. They also would do their best to prevent the coming general election to take place in Mizoram. As for

the cease-fire, the President maintained that they will not agree to such proposals as this would give Indian troops an opportunity to consolidate their positions in strategic places. Unless India agrees to cease all military activities, the Mizo Government cannot agree to any cease-fire. If, however, the Indian Government agrees to work out the principles of having a peaceful solution to the problem and give up the idea of using force against us, We shall agree to a cease-fire under certain terms which we need not discuss at present. We would, however, welcome a Christian truce like the one observed in Vietnam.

(9) Political Stand

In view of the impossibility of successful resistance against the armed might of India, and of the sufferings and difficulties already experienced by the Mizo people, and the likelihood of their moral resistance crumbling during the next few years, the Delegation asked point blank whether they would reconsider their position and thus be agreeable to a high degree of autonomy within the framework of the Indian Constitution. The President's reply might be summarised as follows :—

“Our party's demand was self-determination for the Mizo people. This did not necessarily mean secession from the Indian Union. We have attempted to achieve this by constitutional and peaceful means. We were prepared to continue our struggle by peaceful means had we not received information about

the evil intension of the Assam Government to restrict by force our freedom and birth rights..... We were compelled to declare our Independence and secession from the Indian Union. Our decision is now irrevocable. We realise the hardships our people have already suffered and we can foresee what the future has in store for us. We have been whole villages burnt to ashes, the people left without food or shelter or even cooking pots to cook jungle roots. We refused to be associated with such a brutal, vicious and cruel Government which treat our people no better than wild beasts. There is, therefore, hardly any possibility of changing our decision and re-associate ourselves with a lying and corruption ridden Government, and what our Naga friends describe as a sinking ship. We do not, however, want to create the impression that we are all out for violence. We want peace and we shall be prepared to have peace-talks with India as between Governments. The Mizo Union and other political parties had agreed with us in the ultimate ideal of politically Independent Sovereign State for Mizoram but they were not prepared to pay the price of the struggle and some of them felt that the country was yet ready both in man-power and economic resources. We are confident that they would soon see things in a different light and ultimately come round to our way of thinking. We hope that our old leaders will continue to lead us in the new era. We are now compelled to usher for our country.

The Church Delegation suggested that they should have talks with the Mizo Union leaders. The President related the various talks they had had with the Mizo Union leaders and their subsequent moves and invitations to them after the trouble. He had little hope of resolving their ideological differences in such a meeting at this stage but that he hopes many of their misunderstandings and unnecessary apprehensions among them might be removed and the meeting prove fruitful. He also expressed the hope that no second Shilu Ao might appear in the political scene in Mizoram.

The Christian Peace Committee then also met several other MNF leaders such as Lalnunmawia, Vice-President, Sainghaka, Home Minister, Lalkhawliana, Finance Minister, Lalhmingthanga, Foreign Minister, Ngurkunga, Information & Publicity Minister, Vanlalngaia, Director of Intelligence Service. At the same time they met representatives of India like the Deputy Commissioner of Aizawl, B.C. Carriappa, Commissioner of Cachar and Mizo Districts; B.P. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam, Home Minister Y.B. Chavan, Home Secretatry, Jt. Secretary to the Prime Minister of India Mr. Banerjee, on several occasions. They exchanged the opinions of the warring parties and tried to bring them to one table to draw the conclusions for Peace Settlement.

Knowing the pulse of the Government and the limitations and frailties of the underground Mizos, the Christians Peace Committee tried to bring the

political settlement of Mizoram within the framework of the Indian Constitution. They urged the MNF leadership to make their final political demand in this line. The MNF leadership also came closer. To quote Lalkhawliana ¹⁶.

“Knowing full well the stand of the Indian Government from the Church leaders, I am prepared to work and do my utmost to help create conditions that would lead to peaceful solution of the present situation provided, of course, that the Government of India is prepared to respond to my appeal”.

Vanlalngaia believed that about 90p.c. of the underground MNF were in favour of a peaceful settlement on the lines of Lalkhawliana. He made this remark to the Church leaders ¹⁷—“Our President, Mr. Laldenga said, ‘I led you out of the Indian Union, perhaps I may not be the best leader for you to lead you back to the Indian Union’”. The Church leaders considered this remark significantly indicating the tension existing among the underground leaders.

It was very unfortunate, however, that most of the Mizo leaders including Sainghaka, Home Minister and Vanlalngaia, Director of Intelligence Service,

16. Christian Peace Committee, Letter to B.C.Carriappa, Commissioner of Cachar and Mizo Districts, dated 1-3-1969.

17. Christian Peace Committee, Letter to B.C. Carriappa, dated Aijal, the 21st June, 1969.

who met the Members of the Church leaders were arrested soon after their meeting was over and some others were killed by the Indian Security Forces. Therefore, some of the MNF boys alleged openly that the Church leaders had betrayed those unfortunate MNF leaders. The MNF top leadership also had been convinced by this opinion in due course and had gradually lost confidence in them. In the Government of India circles there seemed to be a general feeling also that those Church leaders were the MNF Agents, sent to the Government of India as peace feelers. Their mission became ultimately stale to the eyes of both MNF and the Government of India and it was no longer effective as it ought to be. Thus the Church Peace Committee failed in their mission in its first attempt. However, the Church Leaders Committee was newly formed on 15th June, 1983, by nine Christian denominations in Mizoram, viz, Presbyterian, Baptist, Roman Catholic, United Pentecostal Church, Seventh Day Adventist, the Salvation Army, Assembly of God, Isua Krista Kohhran and Lai Baptist Church. The new Church Leaders Committee demanded that the Government of India and the MNF leadership resume their talk which was ended on January 21, 1982.

CHAPTER XI

ON TO UNION TERRITORY

As the Mizo District attained the status of Union Territory of Mizoram, it would be interesting to call in brief how the proposal had been received and accepted by political leaders of Mizoram. It should be remembered that whilst the underground MNF led by Laldenga demanded complete independence from India and raised a banner of revolt, the Mizo Union always stood for a separate Mizoram State within India. In fact, the Mizo District Council formed by a coalition of the Mizo Union and the Mizoram Congress led by Dengthuama under the name "The United Mizo Parliamentary Party" (UMPP for short) in its session on the 14th April, 1971 passed the following official resolution ¹ :—

"In order to put all Mizo tribes including those living in our neighbourhood under one set-up of administration, the house considers lasting peace

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1. Proceedings of the Mizo District Council in the 68th Session held at the Council Chamber - 14th April, 1971, Assembly Library.

and tranquility and Statehood as of imperative necessity and decided to bring this to the notice of the Central Government as soon as possible".

In reference to the above resolution, a District Council delegation consisting of Ch. Chhunga, Chief Executive Member, Zalam, Deputy Chief Executive Member, K. Thansiam, Member of District Council, Lalbuai, Member of District Council met the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in mid-May, 1971 and placed their demand in a memorandum for a full-fledged Mizoram State incorporating the areas inhabited by the Mizos in Cachar, Manipur and Tripura². On the other hand, the other faction of Congress called the Mizo District Congress, led by Hrangchhuana, first wanted to have political settlement with the MNF underground and bring about peace and tranquility in the District before making any change in the political status in the District³.

Apart from personal discussion in private quarters, no serious thought has ever been given to the status of a Union Territory being applied to Mizoram.

On the 17th July, 1971, Santijibon Das, I.A.S., Commissioner, Cachar and Mizo District and Central Liaison Officer came up to Aizawl with a proposal of the Central Government to confer the status of Union Territory to Mizo District and to study the reaction of the Mizo leaders. Hectic political talks and discussion followed.

2. UMPP memorandum, May, 1971.

3. Roy, Animesh, *Mizoram Dynamics of Change*, Pearl Publishers, Calcutta, 1982. p. 141.

The Commissioner who knew the Mizos for years, recovered opinions of all sections of the people and also explained to them that in conferring the status of Union Territory to Mizoram, the Government of India is sincerely committed to bring about normalcy and all round development in the Mizo hills ⁴.

After a series of discussions held in the bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner, Aizawl, on the evening of 17th July 1971, seventeen representatives of UMPP including H.K. Bawichhuaka, unanimously agreed to submit a memorandum to express their appreciation of the proposal of the Government of India in the following words ⁵—

“The proposal (Dated Aijal, the 17th July, 1971) of a Union Territory status for Mizo district was discussed in view of the present circumstances prevailing in this part of the country. It was felt by the leaders that the decision of the Government of India in granting Union Territory status to Mizo hills was a reasonable proposal for the Central Government to make. The political leaders, however, felt that clarification on certain points was required. For this purpose it was imperative that a delegation consisting of about ten members should go to Delhi. It was further suggested that the Minister of State Home Affairs, Government of India, should visit the District to get a first hand knowledge”.

4. Amrita Bazar Patrika Supplement, 21st January, 1972.

5. UMPP Leaders : Resolutions, 17-7-1971.

The Mizo Union Youth Wing led by Francis Lawr kima, Dosanga, Biakchhawna and K.L. Lianchia while accepting the proposal of a Union Territory status for Mizoram in principle would, however, like it to be buttressed with a promise of a full-fledged State within a stipulated time. They, therefore, submitted a separate memorandum in the following manner ⁶ -

“The offer of Union Territory status to Mizoram is considered a sincere proposal by the Government of India for bringing in peace and normalcy. However, if a Statehood is promised in principle at the outset there will be no objection to our interim arrangement for a limited period”.

This action of the Mizo Union Youth Wing paved the way for parting the ways with their political ‘gurus’ of the Mizo Union, and they subsequently founded the new political party called the Mizo National Union under the leadership of the erstwhile stalwarts of the Mizo Union, H.K. Bawichhuaka and C. Pahlira who have since resigned from the Mizo Union as they said, among other things, they were unable to accept anything short of a full Statehood for Mizoram.

The Mizo District Congress Committee led by Hrangchhuana as stated earlier, found themselves unable to accept the status of a Union Territory

6. Mizo Union Youth Wing - Memorandum. Dated Aizawl, the 17th July, 1971.

for Mizoram as they thought an acceptance under such disturbed conditions in the district would be presumptuous and unstatesmanlike without first having political settlement with the Mizo underground and bring about peace and tranquility in the hills. They, therefore, urged upon the Government to have negotiation with the rebel Mizos.

Much changes have taken place since then. With the offer of the liberalised amnesty to the MNF rebels and the liberation of Bangladesh, the Mizo underground have surrendered to the Government in masses and hence their main inhibiting factor has been circumvented. This party, after coming overground, therefore, co-operates with the Government.

The Commissioner also visited Lunglei and Saiha- the administrative headquarters of the Pawi-Lakher Region and had on-the-spot study there. People in the Pawi-Lakher Region had no difficulty in conveying their acceptance of the Government's proposal. The Chief Executive Member of the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council, Zakhu Hlychho, briefly put down in writing the wishes of his people saying that the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council had no objection to the Mizo District getting "any form of status provided that separate Full Autonomous District provision in being made for the Pawi and Lakher people separately which means two separate full-fledged Districts" ⁷.

7. Hlychho, Zakhu- Memorandum to Commissioner of Cachar & Mizo Districts, 19th July 1971.

On behalf of the 30,000 Chakmas of Mizo District, **Kristo Mohan Chakma**, the President, Demagiri Congress Committee, welcomed the Union Territory proposal and submitted a demand for a separate District Council for the Chakmas in Mizo hills to protect their — according to him, 'distinct tradition and culture' ⁸.

The Presbyterian Church, though not a political organization, was also requested to voice their opinion in view of the immense influence they wield on the social life of the people. They expressed their desire to remain neutral in politics but assured the Government that they would strive to reach their members to be loyal to the Government and co-operate with them.

Therefore, the proposal of a Union Territory status for Mizoram was, by and large, accepted by all those people from whom the Government invited opinions in principle, although each in one form or the other, and all of them regarded it as a step forward to full Statehood. Several delegations were sent to New Delhi on this effect.

The All Mizo Students' Convention, Shillong, however, registered their strong opposition to the Union Territory proposal though it was of no avail and staged a big procession and gathered a big crowd at Fire Brigade ground 31st July 1971 demonstrated their

8. Chakma, Kristo Mohan—Memorandum to Commissioner.

opposition to the Government proposal. The students felt that such a measure far fell short of the sentiments and aspirations of the Mizo people and also refused to accept Union Territory even as a first-stepping-stone measure to the political settlement of the Mizo hills. In their memorandum⁹ the Students' Convention finds unacceptable any proposal or settlement that does not take into account the underground Mizos because it feels that no permanent peace and political stability can be attained without coming to some sort of rapprochement with them. They demanded the Central Government to take initiative to create an atmosphere in which Peace Talks could be held with the underground Mizos for arriving at a permanent and peaceful settlement which should be beneficial and acceptable to all concerned. The meeting was addressed among others by Pi Dengchhungi, wife of Assam Cabinet Minister, A. Thanglura—a Mizo politician who never agreed with the underground movement.

Since the bulk of the political leadership of the Mizo hills agreed with the creation of a Union Territory the Government of India promptly took the steps to usher in the new system. This was made a part of a comprehensive proposal for re-organization of the entire North-East region of India. By North Eastern Areas (Re-organization) Act, 1971. (Act No. 81 of 1971) which came into existence on January 21, 1972, the sub-State of Meghalaya be-

9. All Mizo Students' Convention; Memorandum,

came a full-fledged State, the two Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura were also upgraded into full-fledged States. Two new Union Territories were formed—Mizo District became the Union Territory of Mizoram and NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency) formed the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh. The same Act formed the North Eastern Council which would coordinate the development and security functions in the entire area which is known as the 'Seven sisters'.

The Act allotted one seat each in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha to Mizoram. Simultaneously, Article 239 of the Constitution was amended making Mizoram one of the Union Territories to have a local legislature with a Council of Ministers. The Legislature of the Union Territory of Mizoram comprises of thirty elected and three nominated members.

The Union Territory of Mizoram was inaugurated on the 21st January, 1972 at Aizawl by the Prime Minister of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi. The first election to the Legislative Assembly was held in April 1972. The Mizo Union Party, the first political party in Mizoram won 21 out of 30 seats in the Assembly. Thus the first popular Ministry was formed by the Mizo Union party on 3rd May, 1972. It consisted of four Cabinet Ministers and one Deputy Minister. Ch. Chhunga became the Chief Minister with K.T. Khuma, Vaivenga, R. Thang-

liana as Cabinet Ministers and P.B. Nikhuma as Deputy Minister. H. Thansanga was elected as the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Hiphei as the Deputy Speaker. In the first election to the Lok Sabha seat, Sangliana, Mizo Union was elected while Lalbuaia, Mizo Union, returned the first Rajya Sabha seat.

APPENDIX I

STATISTICS OF MAJOR CHURCHES IN MIZORAM

A. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH :

Hqrs. Mission Veng,
Aizawl.

1. Ministers

Ordained Ministers —	105
Probationary Pastors —	22

2. Synod Office (Church Hqrs.) Staff

Executive Secretaries —	3
Synod Workers —	5
Field Worker —	1
Head Assistant —	1
Accountant —	1
Office Assistants —	3
Typist —	1
Drivers —	3
Duftry —	1
Carpenter —	1
Peons —	2
Chowkidar —	1
Total	23

CHURCH & POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN MIZORAM

3. Aizawl Theological College

Principal	—	1
Registrar	—	1
Lecturers	—	12
Director of Bible		
Correspondence School	—	1
Assistant Librarian	—	1
Office Assistants	—	2
Library Assistant	—	1
Driver	—	1
Chowkidar	—	1
Theological Students	—	58
Missionary Trainees	—	9
Cooks	—	3
Total workers		24

4. Synod Mission Board

Fields	No. of Missionaries	Other workers	Total
Cachar	7	40	47
Manipur	17	94	111
Karbi Anglong	6	34	40
B.M.M.F. *	1	—	1
E.H.A. *	3	—	3
Nepal	2	2	4
C.W.M.*	1	—	1
Total	37	170	207

* B.M.M.F. = Bible and Medical Missionary Fellowship.

* E.H.A. = Emmanuel Hospital Association.

* C.W.M. = Council for World Mission.

Home Mission

(a) Salem Boarding School	—	1
Evangelist Teachers	—	10
Nurse —	—	1
Other workers	—	7
Students sponsored by Mission	—	100
(b) Other Primary Schools	—	29
Evangelist Teachers	—	46
Pupils	—	1082
Evangelists	—	9
(c) Workers among Non-Mizos within Mizoram	—	10
Total Home Mission Workers	—	86

5. Cachar Area other than No. 4 above (Bengali)

Pastors - -	3
Evangelists -	14
Others - -	3

(a) Oriental English Medium School - 1 at Silchar	
Teachers -	13
Pupils -	200

(b) Oriental English Medium School II at Dhallaichera	
--	--

Teachers -	2
Pupils -	32
Other -	1

(c) Bengali Primary School, Silchar	
Teachers -	2
Pupils -	17

(d) Dipty Nibash (Home for Orphans and Widows)

Superintendent	-	1
Craft Teacher	r	1
Chowkidar	-	1
Supported Boarders	-	12

Total Cachar Area Workers — 41

6. Synod Press and Bookroom

Confirmed Workers	-	37
Unconfirm Workers	-	22
Master Rolls	-	20
Student	-	1
Total	-	80

Types of Machines

Monotype Keyboard	-	1
Intertype	-	1
Albion	-	1
Plate Graining Machine	-	1
Monotype Caster	-	1
Generator	-	1
Furnace	-	1
Atena (HMT)	-	1
Miehle Machine	-	1
Mercedes Super	-	1
Toyo Seiki	-	1
Kord Heidelberg (Offset)	-	1
Treadle Machine	-	2
Sewing Machine	-	1
Stitching Machine	-	2
Cutting Machine	-	1
Perforator	-	1

Sadana	-	1
Darkroom Camera	-	1
Etching Machine	-	1
Ronting Machine	-	1
Contact Printer	-	1
Korestat Copier	-	1

7. Synod Education Board

(a) Synod High School		1
Headmaster	-	1
Teachers	-	12
Office Assistant	-	1
Peon	-	1
Chowkidar	-	1
Students	-	245
Hostel Boarders	-	16

(b) P.C. Girls' School		
Headmistress	-	1
Teachers	-	24
Other Workers	-	3
Pupils	-	407
Hostel Boarders	-	19

Total workers in Schools 7 44

8. Synod Hospital : Durtlang, Aizawl

Doctors	-	7
Nurses	-	28
Pharmacy Keepers	-	4
Laboratory Operators & Bearers		5
X-Ray Operators	-	2
Office Staff	-	8

Pastor	-	1
Mechanic	-	1
Drivers	-	3
Other workers	-	23
Nurse Students	-	64
Beds	-	100
Private Wards	-	9
Average daily patients-		80
Average daily out-patients		41
Total workers	-	80

9. Mizo Sunday School Union

Sunday Schools	-	463
Teachers	-	1,704
Students	—	141,194

10. Other Boards or Committees

- (a) Synod Revival Committee
- (b) Synod Literature Committee
- (c) Synod Social Front
- (d) Synod Pension-cum-Provident Fund Board.

11. Finances, 1983

- (a) Contribution from

Church Members	—	Rs. 79,46,486.66
Average contribution by each communicant member	—	Rs. 70.85
- (b) Other Sources — Rs. 5,01,639. 10
- Total income during 1983 — Rs. 84,48,125. 76

12. Statistics

Churches within Mizoram	—	379
Churches in Cachar	—	19
“ other parts of NE. India	-	28

Total Mizo Presbyterian Church	—	426
Church Elders	—	1,714
Communicant members	—	1,12,828
Total Church Members	—	2,18,503
Male Members	—	1,09,237
Female Members	—	1,09,266

Source : Synod Office, Aizawl.

B. BAPTIST CHURCH OF MIZORAM :

Hqrs. Serkawn,
Lunglei.

1. Ordained Ministers	—	36
Probationary Pastors	—	12
2. Church Headquarters Staff		
Secretaries	—	6
Senior Clerk	—	1
Accountants	—	2
Office Assistants	—	5
Drivers	—	2
Others	—	4
Total workers	—	20
3. Mission Fields		
Tripura, No. of workers	—	35
Assam & Bengal	" —	11
Maharashtra	" —	4
Madhya Pradesh	" —	4
Bhutan	" —	2
Evangelical Fellowship of India	" —	2
4. Home Mission workers	—	45

5. Press and Bookroom

Confirmed workers — 9

Unconfirmed workers — 5

There are 16 numbers of machines of various types

6. Education Board

(a) Christian High School, Serkawn, estd. 1961

Principal — 1

Teachers — 12

Others — 2

Total — 15

(b) Baptist Boarding School, Vaseitlang, Mizoram.

Teachers including Headmaster — 6

Others — 1

Total — 7

(c) Baptist Mission Primary Schools — 31

Teachers in 31 Primary Schools — 34

7. Christian Hospital, Serkawn, Lunglei.

Doctors — 3

Nurses — 19

Pharmacists — 1

X-Ray — 1

Driver — 1

Office Assistant — 2

Others — 14

Beds — 100

Average daily patients — 100

Average daily out-patients — 60

Nurse Students — 35

Total workers — 41

8. Baptist Sunday School Union

Sunday Schools	—	221
Teachers	—	2,040
Students	—	24,414

9. Finances, 1981**Contribution from**

Church members	Rs. 2,450,925.02
Other sources	Rs. 2,22,711.42
Total Income	Rs. 26,73,636.44

10. Statistics

Church Elders	803
Communicant Members	33,325
Total Church Members	57,304
Male Members	28,319
Female Members	18,985

Source : Mizoram Baptist Kohhran Dnhmun Thlrna, Published by the Baptist Assembly Press, Serkawn, Mizoram, 1982.

APPENDIX — II

THE MAKING OF AIJAL : LETTER FROM LT. COL. J. SHAKESPEAR

1, Redburn Street
Chelsea, London S.W. 3

Tele : Flaxman 8021

13th July 1939

Dear Mr. Peters,

I have just heard from Suaka of Durtlang, who in my day was the Lushai Clerk, that you have relieved Major McCall and that formerly you were at Lungleh and are mighty proficient at the Zotawng.

I venture to congratulate you on ruling my old Kingdom, which I left with great regret for Manipur 34 years ago. I write especially on behalf of a youngster Vaibawia, the youngest son of my old friend Lalluauva. I expect that you know all about him, and that you know how great a debt we owe to his father. If Lalluauva had not stood by us in the rising of 1892 we should have been in a very bad way, as a reference to my diaries of that date will show. So I know that you will do your best for young Vaibawia, who I am afraid is not a very wise youngster. I gather that he is not actually in-charge of his village, being under age. McCall send me that fat file, which he called the Lushai Cover, and it certainly does cover the administration of the Lushai hills, I see in that that in case of the Chief being a minor, a near relative is installed as

"regent". I ventured to write to McCall that I did not think that a wise innovation, because human nature being what it is, the temptation to make hay while the sun shines, will certainly be too much for the ordinary run of Regent, who being in the running for Chief, will be much tempted to arrange matters so that may become Chief, and not Regent. In the old days when a chief died leaving a minor son, the government of the village was carried on by the widow and the *Upas* or if the widow died by the *Upas* alone. These not being of Royal blood, could not in those days aspire to the chieftainship and as far as I can recall they carried out their duties very loyally both towards the Sawrkar and towards the young Chief.

However, I am an old fogey long seated on the shelf, and am only interested in trying to get young Vaibawia given every chance, on account of what I owe to his father, so I hope you won't mind my writing to you.

The post of "Bor Sap" is a more difficult one to hold than it was in my day. I had no Mission questions, at least the Missionaries raised no questions in my day. The only trouble I can remember was when Lungleh Missionaries started and their teachings did not quite tally with that of the Welsh brethren in Aijal and there was some danger of two rival bodies of christians coming to logger heads, but I settled that by getting the Lungleh men over with their wives for Christmas and when the people

saw the two lots of persons holding service together all was well. The most wonderful thing, to me, is that the Padres have got Lushais to give up *Zu*. That seems to me really a miracle. Of course, I don't entirely approve. The Lushais in my day were not drunkards. They liked an occasional bust and were none the worse for it, because *Zu* is a most healthy drink, and I think a man who can drink in moderation is a finer fellow than one who never touches *Zu*. However, my old friend Lorrain tells me that he and Savidge came to the conclusion that the Lushais were incapable of being moderate drinkers. But what a horrid change from the view of the Bor Sap on tour. Why, what a joy it was when one came panting up the last steep bit, and found at the top in a shady corner, the Chief and his *Upas*, awaiting one with Chung's of *Zu* and fresh cut bamboo cups out of which to drink it, while one discussed various matters. And then the pleasant evenings in the Chief's house, seated on a rolled up *Puanpui*, listening to the gossip and the jokes while the *Zu* passed round. I am afraid I could never get reconciled to a tee total Lushai language. I do remember one terribly dull evening spent with a christian Chief, his christian wife, and one christian *Upa*. I went to bed very early that evening.

I cannot help regretting the various Lushai festivals—*Pawkut*, *Minkut*, etc. If the padres had had any imaginations sure they might have twisted them into harvest festivals, etc.

Well, well, we old busters of course think ours were the good old days. So enough.

Fare you well and best of luck.

Yours Sincerely,

Sd/—J. SHAKESPEARE

P.S. : I sent an account of the making of Aijal, which, you may find interesting. Perhaps you may think it worth having a copy made and kept in the club.

Sd/—J. SHAKESPEARE

THE MAKING OF AIJAL

Aijal, or more correctly Aizawl, had always been a very favourite village site, but was unoccupied when in the spring of 1890, Mr. Daly of the Assam Police, arrived there with 400 men of the Silchar Military Police Battalion, to cooperate with a column of troops under Colonel Skinner which was struggling down the valley of the Dalleswari river to punish Lianphunga, for raiding into the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

It was on Mr. Daly's recommendation that Aijal was chosen as the site of the fortified post which Colonel Skinner had been ordered to construct before he left the country. The site, like all old village sites, was fairly clear of jungle. Lt. Petric of the Bengal Sappers and Miners, planned the post, which consisted of two stockades. These were composed to a great extent of tea trees, which were

common near the site. The stockades and the buildings within them were constructed by Mr. Daly's men.

The smaller stockade was on the knoll on which the offices and the club now stand. In it were the quarters of the officers and a small guard. The other stockade was on the next knoll to the northwards, on which now stand several masonry barracks, in this were the huts of the rest of the garrison, which numbered 200 men in all, of the Silchar Military Police under the command of Lieu. H.G. Cole of the 2nd Gurkhas.

At that time, boats could not get higher up to Dalleswari river than Changsil and here was established a post held by 100 men to guard the store houses. Changsil had long been a Bazar and there were good Lushai paths from it to Aijal and other villages also to Silchar. It was by this path that Mr. Daly's party came up in 1890, and it was along the line of this path that the first mule road was made by Mr. Sweet of the P.W.D. from Changsil the road ran more or less along the river side to Sairang and thence to Aijal. The present Silchar road leading out from the northern end of Aijal was not made till shortly before I left the hills I had long meant to make it, but neither money nor labour was available earlier. The new road saved two marches and also avoided the unhealthy Dalleswari valley.

The river between Changsil and Sairang was made passable for boats by Mr. Davies and Captain Loch, who spent sometime blasting away boulders. Directly the river was cleared the traders from Changsil transferred their shops to Sairang. It was not till the cart road from Sairang was opened that the Aijal Bazar become really important.

The rising which began in September 1890, with the murder of Mr. Brown, the first-Political Officer and attacks upon the Aijal and Changsil posts, was put down by Mr. McCabe who had made his name by subduing the Nagas. He earned the name of "Lalmantu" so many rebel monarchs did he capture. Peace was restored by the spring of 1890 and from that date the expansion of Aijal began.

The remainder of the Silchar Police Battalion was transferred to Aijal and Captain Loch, 3rd Gurkhas arrived as Commandant. The rising of the spring of 1892, was also quelled by Mr. McCabe, but having restored order his health gave way and he had to take sick leave and was succeeded at Aijal by Mr. A.W. Davies, also from the Naga hills, where he had succeeded McCabe.

Davies and Loch worked well together and Aijal made a good start under them. Of the details of the changes which took place between 1891 and spring of 1897, when I arrived in Aijal and took over charge from Mr. A. Porteous who had succeeded Davies as Political Officer, in 1894, I can tell nothing.

I found the Military Police in Aijal housed in good masonry barracks and the whole station a miracle of nearness, thanks to Loch, who though a good soldier, was by inclination an engineer and house builder. Having seen the roofs of the two of his barracks blown clean off during a March storm he determined to put an end to such disaster by building stone houses for himself, and his men in place of wretched affairs of jungle timber and bamboo matting in which they were then living. He mentioned his intension to Davis who told him he did not think it worthwhile forwarding such a scheme to government for, he said, "We've been 10 years in Kohima and there's not one stone house there yet" - "More shame to you" was Loch reply and he set to work with his own men to build himself a house, at his own cost. When this had been achieved he asked permission to build barracks etc for the garrison of Aijal. His house having been passed by the P.W.D. as "good and fit for issue," Lock was told to submit an estimate for all the buildings he considered necessary and this being sanctioned he went ahead. He engaged a Khasi contractor, Sahon Roy, and also employed many of his own men.

When I arrived early in 1897 he had built the Assistant Commandant's bungalow and all the Police barracks and hospital and was building the quarter-guard and office building with the completion of that the work estimated for would be complete except for the armourer's shop. Now Loch received a check.

I told you that one estimate for all the buildings had been sanctioned. In framing that estimate, Loch had been guided by the cost of his own house, but as the work went on, new quarries had to be opened in more remote and less easily worked localities and so the cost of each building rose above the estimate and this excess increase steadily but the fact was not discovered by the P.W.D. until the quarter-guard had, I believe, cost about double the estimated sum. The Chief Engineer rose in his wrath and an order was issued that Loch should do no more building. This did not really much matter as the only Police building remaining was the armourer's shop, a small affair and even that was up to plinth level when it was handed over to the Executive Engineer for completion. I had much pleasure in pointing out in my next annual report that though the building was a small one and was urgently required, the P.W.D. had not been able to complete it in a whole year and I suggested that Captain Loch might be given a contract to complete it, which was approved of and the shop was finished within a few months.

Before leaving the Police buildings I better mention the Queen Victoria Memorial Porch added to the Quarter-guard. The bust of her late Majesty, was I think paid for by Loch. The two antique filed peaces which flank the porch, have a curious history. They were part of the ornament of a sloop of war which was in the Chittagong river in 1857. When the detachment of the 34th Native Infantry stationed in Chitagong mutinied on 18th November,

the guns were thrown overboard to prevent their falling into the hands of the mutineers. Later three were fished up and fitted with sheeled carriages and eventually found their way to Rangamati, whence they were sent to Lungleh, during the troublous times in 1892. It struck me that these aged guns, one of which, from its date, might have been fired at Waterloo, would form a suitable addition to the memorial of the Great Queen, so I had them brought over.

The Parade Ground

When Loch took over command the married quarters were on a spur which ran out from the main range, where the parade ground now is, this spur ended in a knoll. The nearness of the ladies' quarters of the gay bachelors, was a frequent source of trouble. Loch removed them to their present abodes, and the devecotes were not so frequently disturbed. He then set to work to cut away the knoll throwing the spoil down on each side. When I arrived in 1897 the work was about half done, but a lump about 15 feet high still remained. At that time there was a road from the post office, along the east face of the ridge as well as along the west. Loch asked me if he might cut the eastern road away, and I of course, agreed as its removal greatly increased the size of the parade ground. The cutting away of this road meant a lot of blasting. The labour for the parade ground was found by the sepoys. Loch gave out contracts which were much sought after. To get the spoil away from the face

of the hill to the edge of the ground the men worked in pairs, one wheeled the barrow the other filled in. At the spot where the stuff had to be tipped, a Gurkha officer stood with a bag of paise, as each barrow load was chucked over the edge, the Gurkha officer would throw one or more paise into the empty barrow, according to the length of the lead. The money for all this was provided by the Canteen fund, which was largely produced by the sums which the workers paid to satisfy the thirst procured by their labours. The only cost to Government was Rs 1,200/-. *The Range* was also made by sepoy labour. Mostly on Saturdays when every man from the Commandant to the last joined recruit put in about 8 hours Kamdarri. Loch's battalion was the only one in which there was never any trouble about Kamdarri, the reason being that there was very little except on Saturdays, when everyone worked. One day Loch said to me, "I think I must be a very good man," I did not dispute it but asked why he had come to that conclusion and he replied, "If you notice it very seldom rains on Saturdays, now there are about 800 men in barracks who pray for wet Saturdays and I alone pray for fine ones, and my prayer is generally granted so I must be a good man" I agreed.

The Superintendent's House

This was designed by my wife. The first house was of the usual jungle timbre type and stood at the south end of the present lawn. The house was just completed when I went home on leave in 1899.

To keep the cost down I had put on a rood of bamboo shingles which necessitated a plain roof with one slope from ridge to eaves. This was not beautiful enough for Captain Cole who acted for me. He put in the three gables which are a great improvement, but the roof leaked so vilely at the joints of the gables and the main rood that after my return I had to put in an application for a corrugated iron roof and was rigged for my extravagance. Cole also made the pleasant terrace along the front of the house and had some retaining wall and the picturesque flight of steps in the corner. The lawn and garden to the north—the garden immediately to the north of the house was made by Porteous, who preceded me as Superintendent. He built the wall along the western edge to keep off the wind. He, at very great expense had three feet of leaf mould carried from the jungle and deposited in the garden—the orange trees I bought over from the Chin hills.

In my day the road from Aijal southwards passed along close under the Superintendent's house and on the opposite side was the "Crater". This was the first effort made in the days of McCabe to solve the Water supply question. He had a big excavation made in a circular knoll that stood opposite the house, the spoil being thrown outwards. Then he cut a number of shallow drains on the face of the hill below the Assistant Commandant's house all joining into one channel from which by a corrugated iron aqueduct he carried the drainage of that hill over the road into his "Crater".

The first burst of the rain filled the crater but the water leaked out all round and the Civil Surgeon, whose house then stood on the north side of the crater complained of the dampness resulting from the experiment. So the equeduct was removed and the crater remained till Cole succeeded me and threw the road round it and included it in his garden, at least so I have been told. The next effort to improve water supply was made by Loch and myself throwing a bund across the valley south of his house. This too was a failure for as in the first case the water would not stay but ran away under the embankment. Before I left finally a little water did remain as the silt fill up the leaks.

The oak trees along the various roads were brought from Champhai where Loch started a nursery. The first below the Superintendent's house also came from Champhai. The Medical Officer's house and that of the Assistant Superintendent's were also built under my orders. Mr. Cotton (later Sir Henry) had, as Chief Secretary in Bengal, seen how well the system of placing the public works under the Superintendent worked introduced the system into the North Lushai hills. The Superintendent was given a District Engineer and was granted the powers of a Superintendent Engineer. He could sanction work upto Rs 2,000/-. This enable me and Loch to work together and I think we made good use of our powers. The Champhai road was traced by Loch, he supplied sepoy to oversee the labour I provided for its construction. So it was in every-

thing we worked together for the general good. When I went home on leave in 1899, Captain Cole acted for me. He did much for Aijal. The Superintendent's offices and the club were of jungle timber built with punitive labour by McCabe but the doors and windows came from Calcutta. I had plans for reconstructing them and told Cole about it. When I came back I found that Cole had removed the old buildings and started stone ones, which had got to plinth level. He had framed no estimate nor had got sanction for the money. He departed. I had to finish the buildings and get the wiggling. Cole was a wonderful chap. He made such a name over the Assam camp at the Delhi Durbar that he was entrusted with building temporary Delhi with four P.W.D. Executive Engineers under him. He made grand success of the job but he exceeded his estimates by some huge amount and instead of getting slated, received the thanks of the Government of India. He told me how he achieved this. He used to take a plan upto the Head of Department and say "This is all I can do for you. It is not adequate I know, but I cannot do more for the money if I had a little more this is what I should like to do for you," showing another plan, "but it will cost a little more. The victim of course thought the second plan the best and ended by putting his initial to it. So when the excess over the estimate came out I had their initiated plans to show," said the astute Cole.

The little tank just below the Superintendent's garden was made by Porteous, but did not hold water. Loch said that if I would empty it, he'd get the leak stopped. I said it did not hold water, but did hold a certain amount and the leak could not be located till it was quite empty. We got some lengths of piping from the water works supplies and made a gigantic "*dawnkawn*" with which we syphoned off the water. It was muddy and much the colour of Zu and the Lushais crowded roundcalling out. "*Mualzavata dawnkawn*" I suppose you know who Mualzavata is, or was.

The District Engineer's house, below the Lungleh road, was only a kutchra erection and has probably disappeared. Hodgkins was the first District Engineer, a very competent man who did good work. It was under him that the *Melveng* system of road maintenance was brought to perfection.

The jail, record room and civil hospital were among the last buildings erected during my stay in Aijal.

The Post office, when I arrived in Aijal, was a most decrepit kutchra erection. The Department refused to find money for a stone building till I send a photograph of the office to Shillong that shamed the Department into sanctioning the stone building. There was fire in the building once and an energetic fool handed up a tin of kerosene thinking it was water, to a fellow on the roof who threw it over the flames, with no good results.

I think that is about all I remember of the making of Aijal, if you care to ask me any question about other buildings it will be a pleasure to answer if I can.

1, Redburn Street
London S.W. 3

Sd/—J. SHAKESPEARE
Lieutenant Colonel.

13th July, 1939.

APPENDIX - III

INNER LINE OR BOUNDARY LINE OF 1933
(Orders by the Governor in Council)

The 9th March, 1933
No. 2106 - A.P.

In supercession of Government Notification No. 9102 A.P. dated the 28th August 1930 and in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 (v of 1873), as extended to the Lushai Hills District, the Governor in Council with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, is pleased to prescribe the line described below as the 'Inner Line' of the Lushai Hills District.

From the junction of the Ruanding with the Barak river, the Inner Line shall run up the midstream of the former to where it received the Lungkuih lui; thence up the midstream of that stream to its source, and crossing the range in a westerly north direction down the right bank of small feeder flowing into the Tuirangnek stream; thence down the midstream of the latter to its junction with the Sonai river. From this point the Inner Line shall run south westwards up the midstream of the Sonai river as far as its junction with the Suanglawn Lui; thence up the midstream of the Bagh Khal or Tuishen Lui to its junction with a large feeder that takes rise near the deserted village of Saipum, thence up the midstream of this feeder to the summit of Bongkong range, and crossing that range down the midstream

of the Teidu Lui to its junction with the Rukai river. Thence a straight line running in a north westerly direction from this junction to the Dhali bridge one furlong north to the 80 mile stone on the Aijal Dwarband road, this point is also the trijunction of the Hailakandi sub-division (District Cachar) with the Lushai hills, Silchar District; thence up the midstream of the Dhalai river to its source, where, crossing the watershed it strikes the head waters of the Chhimluang Lui and down the midstream of this Lui to its junction with the Barun Chara; thence down the midstream of the Barun Chara to its junction with the Hmarluang Lui (Te); thence up the midstream of this Lui to its source in the Bairabi range; thence crossing the Bairabi range westwards to the source of Bairabi stream; thence down the midstream of the Bairabi stream to its junction with the Dalleswari or Tlawng river; thence up the midstream of the Dalleswari river to its junction with the Pakwa river; thence up the midstream of the Pakwa river to the second large tributary met with on its left bank; thence up the midstream of this tributary to its source; thence in a northerly direction along a range of Chatar Churra peak (2071); thence due west, in the straight line to the tri-junction point of district Sylhet, Lushai hills (Assam) and Tripura State (Bengal) situated on the Langai river about 3/4th of a mile south west of the confluence of the middle Cherra with that river (vide Notification No. 3313 R, dated the 4th October, 1928), thence in a southerly direction up the midstream of the Langai west

river to its confluence with a small nameless tributary going west about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north east of Betling Sib Peak height 3,083; thence in a south westerly direction to Betling Peak height 2,234 which is the tri-junction of district Lushai hills (Assam), Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts district (Bengal) thence in a south-easterly direction for about a mile to a tributary of the Tuilianpui river; thence down the midstream of this tributary to its confluence with the Tuilianpui river thence down the midstream of Tuilianpui river to a point about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south east of its confluence with the Mar river; which is the junction of the Aijal/Lungleh sub-division boundary; thence westward in straight line to the source of the Harni river; thence down the midstream of the Harni river to its confluence with the Karnaphuli river; thence up the midstream of the Karnaphuli river to its confluence with the Thega Khal; thence up the midstream of the Thega Khal to its junction with two other tributaries about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-east of height 2,096 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles north west of Waibung Taung, height 3,083; thence in a south-easterly direction up the slope for about 2 miles to the Waibung Taung range; thence in westerly southerly and easterly direction respectively along range to Waibung Taung peak height 3,083; thence in a southerly direction to Keckradong, which is the tri-junction of Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal), Lushai hills (Assam) and northern Arakan District South (Burma); thence eastwards to Mephutang or Rengtlang thence to the source of small stream called the Vareng-

lui or Mraikchaung whose source lies due east of the peak, down the midstream of the Varenglui or Mraikchaung to its junction with the Sekhuh (Kola) or Kalet' stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Sekul (Kola) or Kalet stream to the mouth of the Khawtlang or Zyucha stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Khawtlang or Zyucha to its course on the Samang or Kwiman 'range to the source of the Samak or Kwiman stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence down the midstream of the Samak or Kwiman stream to its junction with the Kaladyne (Kaladan) river; thence straight across the Kaladyne (Kaladan) river to the mouth of the Kangza or Kwiman stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); (the mouth of these two streams are opposite one another); thence up the midstream of the Khangza or Kwiman stream to its source in the Kaisi Tlang (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence southwards to the source of the Rak or Shwelaik stream; thence down to midstream of the Rak or Shwelai stream to its junction with the Sulla river; thence up the midstream of the Sulla river to its junction with the Kaikheu or Khinkan stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Kaikhen or Khinkan to its source on the Pathian or Pahtay tlang; thence northwards along the Pathian or Pahtay tlang to the source of the para stream; thence down to mid-

stream of the para stream to its junction with the Mi (Tishi, Tuisi, or Wablian) river, thence up the midstream of this river to its junction with the Khaimu stream; thence up the midstream of the Khaimu stream to its source on the Kahria or Kwahria (Kwahria) Klang thence south along the crest coast of the Kahria or (Kwahria) Klang to the source of Raphu vai, thence down the midstream of the Raphu vai to its junction with the Bainu (Kaladan) river to its junction with the Tyao; thence up the midstream of the Tyao to its source on the Vaiko Tlang, thence eastwards to the source of a tributary of the Tumng river; thence down the midstream of the Tumng to its junction with the Tuisa; thence down the midstream of the Tuisa to its junction with the Tuivai river thence down the midstream of the Tuivai river, to its junction with the Vangbum Lui thence up the midstream of the Vangbum Lui to its source at a saddle known as Bangkat where a boundary pillar marked ML (1) has been erected; thence crossing to the west side of this saddle to the source of the Tuitoi stream; thence down the midstream of the Tuitoi stream to its junction with the Tuivai river; thence down the midstream of the Tuivai river to its junction with the Barak river; thence down the midstream of the Barak river to its junction with the Ruanding Lui which is the tri-junction of the Lushai hills and Cachar districts and Manipur State.

North : 83 H, 83 D, 83/15, D14, D/11 and D/7
 West : 83 D/7, 83-D, 84 -A, 84 B and 84 -C

South & : 84—B, 84—P, 84—E, 84—F, 83—D and
East 83—H.

(2) The northern, western, southern and eastern boundaries of the Lushai Hills District are coincident with Inner Line of the Lushai Hills District.

APPENDIX — IV

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF THE ACCREDITED LEADERS OF LUSHAI POLITICAL PARTIES HELD AT AIJAL ON 14 August 1947.

Chairman : Mr. I. L. Peters, Superintendent,
(Elected) Lushai Hills.

PRESENT

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Khawtinkhuma | 26. Lalhema |
| 2. R. Thanhkira, B.A. | 27. Pastor Sarathanga |
| 3. Vanthuma | 28. Pastor Liangkhaia |
| 4. Pastor Chhuahkhama | 29. Lalbiakthanga, M.A. |
| 5. Brig. Kawlkhuma (SA) | 30. Lalropua |
| 6. Khuma | 31. Suaka |
| 7. Lalbuaiia | 32. Hnongliana |
| 8. Hrangaia | 33. Lalana |
| 9. Muka | 34. Lianhnuna, B.A. |
| 10. Rosiama | 35. Pasena |
| 11. Vanchuanga | 36. Lalsailova, Chief |
| 12. Chawngnhuaia | 37. Lalbuanga, Chief |
| 13. Phillipa | 38. Lalzuala, Chief |
| 14. Capt. Ngurliana (SA) | 39. Lamliia, Chief |
| 15. Pachhunga | 40. Kamlova |
| 16. Vanlawma | 41. Ch. Ngura, Chief |
| 17. Vankhuma | 42. Zami (Mrs. Khawtin-
khuma) |
| 18. Laihnuna | 43. Kapthluaii |
| 19. Chhunruma | 44. Biakveli (Mrs.
Buchhawna) |
| 20. Pastor Zairema
B.Sc., B.D. | 45. Lalrongenga, Ex-Sub. |
| 21. Rina | 46. Thanseia, Ex-Sub. |
| 22. Zawla | 47. R. Zuala, Ex-Jamadar |
| 23. Sena | 48. Dahrawka, V.A.S. |
| 24. Rosema | 49. Kapthianga |
| 25. Lalupa | 50. Saihlira, B.A. |

1. Resolved that owing to the unexpected acceleration of the date of transfer of power by the British Government and as the Lushais have not as yet been definitely informed in details as to what is to be the proposed future Constitution and form of administration of the District and as section (7) sub-section (2) of the Indian Independence Bill does not clarify the situation it is accordingly thought that His Excellency the Governor of Assam should kindly inform them in writing as to what these are to be, also whether Lushai are at this stage allowed the option of joining any other Dominion, i.e., Pakistan or Burma. Resolved further that Superintendent, Lushai Hills should kindly communicate the above request of the Lushais to the Adviser to His Excellency the Governor of Assam in order to clarify these points.

2. Resolved that if the Lushais are to enter the Indian Union their main demands are —

- (i) that the existing safeguards of their Customary Laws and land tenure, etc. should be maintained.
- (ii) that the Chin Hills Regulation, 1896 and Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 should be retained until such time as the Lushais themselves through their District Council or other parallel district authority, declared that this can be abrogated.

3. That the Lushais will be allowed to opt out of the Indian Union, when they wish to do so, subject to a minimum period of ten years.

Sd/- L.L. PETERS

14 8-47

Superintendent
LUSHAI HILLS.

No. 6927-76 G of 21-8-47

Copy forwarded to all the leaders who took part in the proceedings.

Sd/- L.L. PETERS

Superintendent
LUSHAI HILLS.

Forwarded by
Sd/- SAINGHINGA
Asst. Superintendent,
LUSHAI HILLS.

APPENDIX — V

MIZO UNION MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND IT'S CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY THROUGH THE ADVISORY SUB-COMMITTEE BY THE MIZO UNION.

(Which has 20,000 enlisted full members and 80,000 associated members which can well represent the entire Mizo people ON THE FUTURE CASE OF MIZO)

MIZO MEMORANDUM

Memorandum of the case of the Mizo people for the right of territorial unity and solidarity and self-determination within the province of Assam in free India submitted to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India and its Constituent Assembly through the Advisory Sub-Committee for Assam partially excluded areas and Excluded Areas.

Pursuant to the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the Mizo Union at Aijal in September 1946 subsequently supported by the Mizo Conference at Lakhipur (Cachar) in November, 1946, this Memorandum prepared by the Mizo Union and supported by the Mizo outside the Lushai hills, Manipur State, Cachar, Tripura and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, etc., etc.

The Memorandum seeks to represent the case of Mizo people for territorial unity and integrity of

the whole Mizo population and full self-determination within the province of Assam, for the realization of which an appeal is made to His Majesty's Government, the Government of India and its Constituent Assembly to make a special financial provision from year to year for a period of ten years or until such time as the Mizos shall assert that they can maintain their self-determination without this financial provision.

The people and the Land

The Mizos are a numerous family of tribes, closely knitted together by common tradition, customs, culture, mode of living, language and rites. They are spread over a wider area extending far beyond into the Manipur State, Cachar, Tripura State, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Burma; but, contiguous with the boundaries of the present Lushai Hills District which was carved out arbitrarily for administrative purposes.

The Mizo people have been known under different names. They were wrongly identified as Kukis during the time of Lord Warren Hastings when Raja of Chittagong sought help of the British against the so called Kuki raiders; and it continued to be applied to the whole group until 1871, when it was supplanted by the term Lushai as a result of the active and prominent part taken by the Lushai, sub-tribe of the Mizo race, against the British expedition known as the First Lushai Expedition. The present Lushai Hills District was thus carved out of the Mizoland for administrative convenience, and the Mizo people living within the District came to

be known as Lushais while the other Mizos, left out the Lushai Hills District and annexed to the surrounding districts, continued to be known as Kukis without their consent. However, the solidarity of the Mizo people as a race and a distinct block is testified by the names of places, mountains and ranges on the Lushai Hills, Cachar, Manipur, Tripura, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Burma, known and called after the names of the several sub-tribes of the Mizo race originally occupying them. Shakespeare, Stevenson, Liangkhaia, Shaw, Kingdonward and Kim of the Statesman are some of authorities on this.

The Mizos have nothing in common with the plains nor with the Nagas or Manipur, etc. They are a distinct block. The areas now under their occupation are mostly hilly except the eastern portion of Cachar district extending to Barial range in the North Cachar Hills. Wherever they go and wherever they are, they carry with them their primitive customs, culture and mode of living in its purest origin, always calling and identifying themselves as Mizos.

The nomenclature of the word 'KUKI' was and is ever known to the Mizos; it was a name merely given to them by the neighbouring foreigners.

Again, it was wrong that the word Lushai should be used as covering all the Mizo tribes since it is misrendering of the Lusei only a sub-tribe of the Mizo race. Hence though, perhaps, not originally

intended, it has created a division. Only the word 'Mizo' stands for the whole group of them all: Lusei, Hmar, Ralte, Paite, Zo, Darlawng, Kawm, Pawi, Thado, Chiru, Aimoul, Khawl, Tarau, Anal, Purn Tikhup, Vaiphei, Lakher, Langrawng, Chawrai, Bawng, Baite, Mualthuam, Kailpen, Pangkhua, Tlanglau, Hrangkhawl, Bawmzo, Miria, Dawn, Kumi, Khiang, Khiangte, Pangte, Khawhring, Chawngthu, Vanchiau, Chawhte, Ngente, Renthlei, Hnamte, Tlau, Pautu, Pawite, Vangchhia, Zawngte, Fanai, etc., — all closely related to one another culturally, socially, economically and physically thus forming a distinct ethnical units.

Traditional Origin

Traditionally Mizos claim descent from Sinlung, a mythical rock, east of the Shan State. Migration by tribal group seems to have taken place about the beginning of the 15th Century, halting at the several locations for longer or lesser periods through Shan State, Chindwin valley and Chin Hills untill they finally came to settle in their present occupied areas and the villages claimed by all the various Mizo tribes, wherever their present habitats may be, as their original homes are either within or close to the border of the present Falam Sub-division.

The Mizo Population

(a) The Mizo people in the Lushai Hills alone number 1,46,900 with an area of 8,143 square miles according to the census of 1941.

(b) The Mizo population of Manipur State contiguous to the Lushai Hills again comes to about 70,000 with an area of about 35,000 square miles.

(c) The Mizo in the Cachar District contiguous to the Lushai Hills number about 9,000 with an area of about 300 square miles.

(d) In Tripura State contiguous to the Lushai Hills, the Mizo again number approximately 7,000 with an area of about 250 square miles.

(e) In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, contiguous to the Lushai Hills the Mizo population is generally approximated to be about 5,000 with an area of about 300 square miles.

(f) In the Chin Hills (Burma) also contiguous to the Lushai Hills who are now commonly known and termed with the Chins, number not less than 90,000 with an area of about 35,000 square miles occupied by them.

The total Mizo population of the contiguous area alone thus comes to roughly 328,400 and the areas about 15,993 square miles.

It is a great injustice that the Mizos having one and the same culture, speaking one and the same language, professing one and the same religion, and knit together by common customs and traditions should have been called and known by different names, and thrown among different people with their homeland sliced out and given to others.

The whole contiguous area of the Mizo population, as detailed above occupies the middle

and the most important portion of India's Eastern Frontiers. It is, therefore, the more imperative that His Majesty's Government, the Government of India and its Constituent Assembly should do the just and proper thing and grant the Mizos their just demand for TERRITORIAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY.

Mizo History and British Connexion

The Mizo people were independent, each village forming an independent unit, and their country never subjugated by the Maharajas of Manipur, Tripura, and Chittagong nor by the Kacharis. However, there had been frontier clashes between the Mizos and the neighbouring people which ultimately brought the British to the scene in 1871. The Mizo country was subsequently annexed to the British territory in 1889, when a little more than half the country was carved out for the Mizo people and named Lushai Hills while the rest have been parcelled out to the adjoining districts. Since then Mizos have remained loyal, friendly and peaceful. At all time, whenever the British needed help as World War I, Abhor expedition, Houkip rebellion, and World War II the willing services of Mizo people were readily available.

The Mizos have an efficient system of administration and discipline. Being a distinct block they retain to a considerable degree their ancient and traditional laws, and customs and organizations, beginning from village under the guidance of the chief

and the elders, while young and old have their respective leaders in all walks of life.

Except in Cachar, the Mizo people are excluded from the Government of India's Act and the areas inhabited by them are kept as the special responsibility of the Governor of the province in his capacity as the Crown Representative and the legislature have no influence whatsoever. In other words, the Mizos have never been under the Indian Government and never had any connection with the policies and politics of the various groups of Indian opinion.

Now that the British are quitting these Mizos who have never been under the Indian Government and whose ways are all different from others, cannot be thrown on a common platform with the rest of India. It is, therefore, important to the highest degree that the Mizos be given self-determination in its fullest form.

The Present General Condition of the Country

As stated in the foregoing paragraphs, the Mizo areas are mostly excluded. The political officer is supreme in every respect. The education is mostly carried on by the Christian Missionary groups. The general communication of the country is extremely poor. The land is extremely hilly without good roads; and the people poor and simple, primitive and divided into tribes and clans. The higher education is mostly derived from outside the district; but mass literacy in the Mizo people is highest in Assam. The people

are mostly intelligent and as such given equal terms they always outshine their fellow workers of other communities in the fields and at home. They are born strategists. Their greatest short-coming is lack of finance as a result of their trade and commerce and limited scope open for them. Their areas stretched from north to south parallel with the Burma border line for defence along the Eastern border of India.

This being the background, it is all the more imperative that the Mizoram be given special financial provision by the centre from year to year while allowing them their territorial integrity as anything short of this will be detrimental to their upbringing. In other words, the Centre shall grant financial provision from year to year for the purpose of development of the country while the district shall join autonomous Assam through legislature with adequate representation, and be also eligible to the provincial services with due reservations at the same time retaining their territorial integrity and self-determination; as otherwise thrown among forty crores of Indians the 3,28,400 Mizos with their unique system of life will be wiped out of existence.

Our Case

In the light of the facts stated in the foregoing paragraphs and in view of geographical position and the strategical importance of the Mizoram for the defence of India and taking into consideration the unique characteristics of Mizo polity and compact

block of Mizoland —this Memorandum is placed with the authority for—

1. Territorial unity and solidarity of the whole Mizo population to be known henceforth as Mizo and Mizoram for Lushai and Lushai Hills District, retaining the sole proprietary right over the land.

2. Full self-determination within the province of Assam.

(a) With the national council having the supreme legislative authority and executive body and judiciary within the district the composition and function which will be prescribed by rules.

(b) Any concurrent subjects in which the district may be connected with the autonomous province of Assam or India as a whole shall be by negotiation with the national councils which will be set up according to wishes of the general public, any legislation may be applied to the district only with the sanction of the national council with any modification.

(c) Special financial provision by the Centre from year to year untill such time as the Mizos shall assert that they are able to maintain their territorial integrity and self-determination without this financial provision.

ALL THE ABOVE ITEMS SHALL BE SUBJECT TO REVISION ACCORDING TO THE FUTURE TREND OF EVENTS EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF SECEDING AFTER TEN YEARS.

For this end it is to be understood that the democratic system of government in its purest form shall at the very outset be introduced. Passed and approved by the Mizo Union representatives conferences at Aijal, Lushai Hills, Assam on 22nd April, 1947.

26-4-1947

Sd/- Khawtinkhuma
President

Sd/- Vanthuama
General Secretary

The Mizo Union, Aijal,
Lushai Hills,
ASSAM.

APPENDIX—VI

MNF MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA by THE MIZO NATIONAL FRONT, GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, AIZAWL, MIZORAM ON THE 30th October 1965.

This Memorandum seeks to represent the case of the Mizo people for freedom and independence, for the right of territorial unity and solidarity; and for the realization of which a fervent appeal is submitted to the Government of India.

The Mizos, from time immemorial lived in complete independence without foreign interference. Chiefs of different clans ruled over separate hills and valleys with supreme authority and their administration was very much like that of the Greek City State of the past. Their territory or any part thereof had never been conquered or subjugated by their neighbouring States. However, there had been border disputes and frontier clashes with their neighbouring people which ultimately brought the British Government to the scene in 1844. The Mizo country was subsequently brought under the British political control in December, 1895 when a little more than half the country was arbitrarily carved out and named Lushai Hills (now Mizo District) and the rest of their land was parcelled out of their hands to the adjoining people for the sole purpose of administrative convenience without obtaining their will or consent. Scat-

tered as they are divided, the Mizo people are inseparably knitted together by their strong bond of tradition, custom, culture, language, social life and religion wherever they are. The Mizos stood as a separate nation even before the advent of the British Government having a nationality distinct and separate from that of India. In a nutshell, they are a distinct nation, created, moulded and nurtured by God and Nature.

When British India was given a status by promulgation of the Constitution Act of 1935, the British Government having fully realised the distinct and separate nationality of Mizo People decided that they should be excluded from the purview of the new Constitution and they were accordingly classed as an EXCLUDED AREA in terms of the Government Order 1936. Their land was then kept under the special responsibility of the Governor-General-in-Council in his capacity of the Crown representative; and the legislature of the British India had no influence whatsoever.

In other words, the Mizos had never been under the Indian Government and never had any connection with the politics and the policies of the various groups of Indian opinion. When India was in the threshold of independence the relation of the Mizos with the British Government and also with the British India were fully realised by the Indian National Congress leaders. Their top leader and spokesman Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru released a press statement on the 19th August

1946 and stated: "The tribal areas are defined as being those along the frontier of India which are neither part of India, nor of Burma, nor of any Indian State, nor of any foreign power." He further stated : "The areas are subsidised and the Governor-General's relation with the inhabitants are regulated by sanads, custom or usage. In the matter of internal administration the areas are largely left to themselves." Expressing the view of the Indian National Congress he continued, "Although the tribal areas are technically under the sovereignty of His Majesty's Government, their status, when a new Constitution comes into force in India, will be different from that of Aden, over which the Governor-General no longer has executive authority. Owing to their inaccessibility and their importance to India in its defence strategy, their retention as British possession is most unlikely. One view is that with the end of sovereignty in India the new Government of India (i.e., Independent Government of India) will enter into the same relations with the tribal areas as the Governor-General maintains now, unless the people of these areas choose to seek integration with India."

From the foregoing statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Constitution Act of 1935, it is quite clear that the British Government left the Mizo Nation free and independent with the right to decide their future political destiny.

Due solely to their political immaturity, ignorance and lack of consciousness of their fate, representatives

of the Mizo Union, the largest political organisation at that time, and the fifty accredited Mizo leaders representing all political organisations including representatives of religious denominations and social organisations that were in existence, submitted their demand and chose integration with free India imposing condition, *inter alia*, "THAT THE LUSHAI WILL BE ALLOWED TO OPT OUT OF INDIAN UNION WHEN THEY WISH TO DO SO SUBJECT TO A MINIMUM PERIOD OF TEN YEARS."

The political immaturity and ignorance which lead the Mizo people to the misguided choice of integration with India was a direct result of the banning by the British Government of any kind of political organisation till April 1946 within Mizoland which was declared 'a political area'.

During the fifteen years of close contact and association with India, the Mizo people had not been able to feel at home with Indian or in India, nor have they been able to feel that their joys and sorrows have really ever been shared by India. They do not, therefore, feel Indian. Being created a separate nation they cannot go against the nature to cross the barriers of nationality. They refused to occupy a place within India as they consider it to be unworthy of their national dignity and harmful to the interest of their prosperity. Nationalism and patriotism inspired by the political consciousness has now reached its maturity and the cry for political self-determination is the only wish and aspiration of the people, *ne*

plus ultra, the only final and perfect embodiment of social living for them. The only aspiration and political cry is the creation of MIZORAM, a free and sovereign state to govern herself, to work out her own destiny and to formulate her own foreign policy.

To them independence is not even a problem or subject of controversy; there cannot be dispute over the subject nor could there be any difference of opinion in the matter. It is only a recognition of human rights and to let others live in the dignity of human person.

While the present world is strongly committed to freedom and self-determination of all nations, large or small, and to promotion of Fundamental Human Rights; and while the Indian Leaders are strongly wedded to that principle-taking initiative for and championing the cause of Afro-Asian countries, even before the World Body; particularly deploring domination and colonisation of the weaker nations by the stronger, old or new, and advocating peaceful-co-existence, settlement of international disputes of any kind through the medium of non-violence and in condemning weapons that can destroy the world, and in general wishing of good will towards mankind, the Mizo people firmly believed that the Government of India and their leaders will remain true to their policy and that they shall take into practice what they advocate, blessing the Mizo people with their aspiration for freedom and independence per principle that no one is good enough to govern another man without that man's consent.

Though known as head-hunters and a martial race, the Mizos commit themselves to a policy of non-violence in their struggle and have no intention of employing any other means to achieve their political demand. If on the other hand the Government of India brings exploitive and suppressive measures into operation, employing military might against the Mizo people as is done in the case of the Nagas, which God forbid, it would be equally erroneous and futile for both the parties for a soul cannot be destroyed by weapons.

For this end it is in good-will and understanding that the Mizo Nation voices her rightful and legitimate claim of full self-determination through this memorandum. The Government of India, in their turn and in conformity with the unchallengeable truth expressed and resolved among the text of HUMAN RIGHTS by the United Nations in its august assembly that in order to maintain peace and tranquility among mankind, every nation - large or small - may of right be free and independent, shall set the Mizo Nation free to work out her own destiny, to formulate her own internal and external policies and shall accept and recognise her political independence. Would it not be a selfish motive and design of India and would it not amount to an act of offence againts humanity if the Government of India claim the Mizoram as a part of their territory and try to retain her as their possession against the national will of the Mizo people, simply because their land is important for India's defence strategy ?

Whether the Mizo Nation should shed her tears in joy to establish firm and lasting friendship with India in war and in peace or in sorrow and in anger, is up to the Government of India to decide.

Sd/— Lianzuala

General Secretary,

Mizo National Front, Mizoram.

Sd/-Laldenga

President,

Dated Aizawl, the

30th October, 1965.

APPENDIX - VII

MNF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In the course of human history it becomes invariably necessary for mankind to assume their social, economic and political status to which the Law of the Nature and Nature's God entitles them. We hold this truth to be self-evident that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed with inalienable fundamental human rights and dignity of human person; and to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men deriving their just power from the consent of the governed and whenever any form of Government become destructive of this end, it is the right of the people to alter, change, modify and abolish it and to institute a new government and laying its foundation on such principles and organising its power in such forms as to them shall see most likely to effect their rights and dignity. The Mizo, created and moulded into a nation and nurtured as such, by Nature's God have been intolerably dominated by the people of India in contravention of the Law of Nature.

The leaders of the Mizo Nation had, many a time, verbally and in writing, put forward to the Government of India, their desire of self-determination for creation of free and independent Mizoram for bringing about protection of Human Rights and Dignity, which the Mizo, by nature, ought to have, but the Government of India, violating the Charter of the United Nations and its Universal Declaration

of Human Rights re-affirmed in the Principles of Bandung Conference, have ignored the voice of the Mizo people and are determined to continue domination and colonisation ruling over us with tyranny and despotism by instituting self-designed administrative machinery with which they endeavour to mislead the world to win their confidence.

Our people are despised, persecuted, tortured, manhandled and murdered without displaying justice while they preach and profess before us and throughout the world that they have instituted for us a separate administrative set up in conformity with the principles of Democracy. To conceal their evil and selfish design religious assimilation and Hindu indoctrination they preach to have established which we cannot accept as it leads to suppression of Christianity.

To prove this, let facts be submitted to the candid world :

1. They have instituted government to rule over us in our own country without any respects for Human Rights and Dignity even in the fact of the present candid world which is committed to these rights and dignity.

2. They have been pursuing a policy of exploitive measures in their attempt to wipe out Christianity, sole religion, and no consideration has ever been paid to our national way of life.

3. They have been preaching throughout the world as if they have instituted a separate administra-

tive machinery in conformity with the principles of Democracy to conceal their policy of generation of our national morality and of assimilation while what had been instituted for us is a pattern of colonial administration.

4. They refuse not only to procure supply of food and arrange other forms of assistance in times of famine, but also prohibited us from seeking and receiving assistance from friendly countries, which resulted in the death of many people.

5. They have established a multitude of offices and sent hitherto swarms of Indian officers, who had an immoral life cruelly appeasing our women-folk to commit immorality with them by taking advantage of their official capacity and of the position they occupy in the administrative machinery.

6. Taking the advantage of economic frustration of the people they subject us to economic slavery and force us to enter into the door of poverty.

7. Curbing freedom of expression, our patriots are arrested and kept in jails without displaying any form of justice.

8. The export facilities which we used to enjoy during the pre-Indian domination, has been totally closed.

9. Without exploring our country's economic resources in agriculture, industries and mining and giving no consideration for their development, they

maintain suppressive measures against our economic right.

10. Realising the importance of our country to India in its defence strategy, the Government of India is establishing military basis throughout our country and thereby creating an atmosphere of cold war while nothing is done for its economic and social development.

11. Inspite of our repeated appeal for peaceful settlement of our rightful and legitimate demand for full self-determination, the Government of India is bringing exploitive and suppressive measures employing their military might and waging war against us as done in the case of the Nagas and the Kashmiris.

12. Owing to absence of medical facilities in our countries, our people died without having medical treatment and attention.

For these and all other innumerable causes, we declared to the candid world that India is unworthy and unfit to rule over the civilised Mizo people who are created and moulded into a nation and nurtured as such and endowed with territorial integrity by Nature and Nature's God.

We, therefore, the Representatives of Mizo people, meeting on this day, the first of March, in the year of our Lord, nineteen sixty six appealing to the supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intention so, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this country solemnly publish and declare, that

the Mizoram is, and of rights ought to be free and independent, that they are absolved from all allegiance to India and its Parliament and all Political connections between them and to Government of India is and ought to be desolved and that as free and independent state, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent state may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, we mutually pledge to each other with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred Honour. We appeal to all freedom loving nations and individuals to uphold Human Rights and Dignity and to extend help to the Mizo people for realisation of our rightful and legitimate demand for self-determination. We appeal also to all independent countries to give recognition to the Independence of Mizoram.

LALDENG

Lalnunmawia	Lianzuala	Sainghaka
Thangkima	Lalhmingthanga	Zamawia
Bualhranga	Sakhawliana	Lalchhawna
Saikunga	Ngunhulha	Lallianzuala
Thangmawia	Vanmawia	Ngurchhina
Tlangchhuaka	Chuailokunga	V.L.Nghaka
Thangzika	Kawlremthanga	Hlunsanga
Vala	Thanghuta	Dokhuma
Thangkhuma	Hnuna	Thangbuaia
Thanghuaia	Lalluta	Lalchuanga
Thatthiauva	Vanhnuaitanga	Lalchhawna

Kapthanga	Challiana	Pachhunga
Rochhinga I	Rochhinga II	Vankunga
Vanlalliana	Thanglawra	Rangkhuma
Duma	Zanenga	Lalnundawta
Lalkhawliana		
Ngurkunga		
Lalhmuaka		
Malsawma		
Hrangchhinga		
Zoramthanga		
Chhunzawna		
Rosanga		
Lamputa		
Vansiamia		
Vanlalzika		
Zamanthanga		
Rohmingthanga		
Lalhruaia		
Lalkhawhena		

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Mr. Hluna founded Hrangbana College by persuading its donor, Mr. Hrangbana, in 1980 and became first Secretary in the Governing Board. He also voluntarily looked-after the management of Classes which was held in the morning during its infant stages of 1980-81. Hluna is an active social worker and headed Mizo Zirlai Pawl (the lone Mizo students organisation of the day) as its President between 1976-78. He edited its official journal "MZP Chanchinbu" between 1975-80. Hluna is the founder-Secretary of YMCA in Mizoram and attended International Conference at Hong Kong in 1982. He is at present Vice President of the Mizo History Association and doing his research leading to Ph. D. under Gauhati University.

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7-11-1941

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